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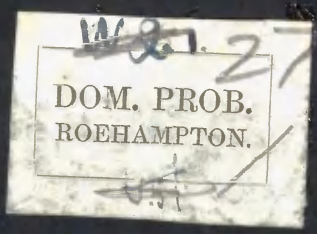

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PER CRUCEM AD LUCEM.

THE RESULT OF A LIFE.

BY

T. W. ALLIES, ~~M.A.~~,

AUTHOR OF

"THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND CLEARED FROM THE CHARGE OF SCHISM," "JOURNAL IN FRANCE AND ITALY," "THE FORMATION OF CHRISTENDOM," ETC.

"Domine,
Sit elevatio manuum mearum
Sacrificium vespertinum."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

Introduction.

SECTION		PAGE
I.	The Logical Coherence of the Four Treatises, and the Occasions on which they were written	1
II.	Corroboration of the Author's Statements in the History of the Church of England, from 1850 to 1879	6
	1. The oath of homage	7
	2. Archbishop Tait's averments	8
	3. His disclaimer of any jurisdiction inherent in the episcopate ...	11
	4. The new hierarchy, and the outcry raised against it	13
	5. The Ecclesiastical Titles Act	21
	6. The various judgments of the Committee of Council	23
	The authority of the Privy Council in spiritual matters is a derivation from the Royal Supremacy	23
	Succeeds the Court of Delegates in these functions	27
	Results contained in these judgments:	
	1. The nature of the Royal Supremacy made clear by them in five points	28
	2. They deal with the highest Christian doctrines	32
	3. The Court holds that it has nothing to do with the Christian faith, but only with the "National Settlement" of it ...	33
	4. Its judgments accordingly treat the highest Christian doctrines only so far as they are treated in the "National Settlement"	34
	5. The Committee of Council only report to her Majesty, who decides personally	34
	It is precisely the power of the Vicar of Christ which is thus arrogated by the temporal sovereign	36
	As likewise in the creation, division, and re-arrangement of episcopal sees in the English colonies	37
	Practical result of the Royal Supremacy in the Church of England, firstly as to government, secondly as to doctrine	38

SECTION PAGE
III. Review of the Religious World outside the Catholic Church 46
Spiritual Jurisdiction as it existed before Henry VIII. 46
1. Source of king-worship in the Church of Constantinople 49
In which ecclesiastical freedom ceases upon establishment of the schism 50
How it fared at the capture of Constantinople by the Turks 52
Mahomet II. and the Greek Church since his time 52
2. The Church of Russia in her beginnings 54
Her liberty and influence from A.D. 988 to 1250 55
Her high bearing from 1250 to 1452 56
Her Metropolitan becomes autocephalous, and also isolated from his brethren 57
Dual government by the Tsar and the Patriarch 59
Followed by revolt of the State against the privileges of the Church under Nicon 60
Nicon deposed, and the liberty of the Church surrendered 61
Peter completes the enslavement of the Russian Church 62
First decrees the Spiritual Regulation, and then carries it out in the the Spiritual College 63
Plan of the Tsar Peter and its execution 65
The actual state of the Eastern Church in its two branches, Greek and Russian 68
3. The Protestant religious communities 69
Their number, and variety of doctrine and organization 70
The Protestant State Churches and the autonomous societies 72
Three great losses common to them all:
1. The idea of the one divine kingdom on earth 74
2. The idea of a dogmatic revelation 75
3. The idea of sacramental grace 76
The Catholic Church, in the midst of servilities, ruins, and fragments, is free, builds up, and completes 77

I.

The Royal Supremacy viewed in Reference to the Two Spiritual Powers of Order and Jurisdiction. 1850.

SECTION
I. The Royal Supremacy 85
II. Order and Jurisdiction 91
III. The Power of Jurisdiction twofold 94
IV. Ancient Testimony to the Power of Spiritual Jurisdiction 98
V. This Power annexed to the Crown by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth 105
VI. Historical Carrying-out of Elizabeth's Idea 110
VII. Spiritual Jurisdiction "in foro interno"... 118
VIII. Bearing of the Royal Supremacy on all this 121

II.

THE SEE OF ST. PETER THE ROCK OF THE CHURCH, THE SOURCE OF JURISDICTION, AND THE CENTRE OF UNITY. 1850.

SECTION		PAGE
I.	THE PRIMACY OF ST. PETER AN EXISTING POWER	139
II.	THE SCRIPTURAL PROOF OF THE PRIMACY	149
III.	THE END AND OFFICE OF THE PRIMACY	167
IV.	THE POWER OF THE PRIMACY	179
V.	THE CHURCH'S WITNESS TO THE PRIMACY	196
	1. A General Supremacy in the Roman See over the whole Church; a Supremacy exactly the same in principle with that which is now claimed	201
	2. The grounding of this Supremacy on the attribution of Matt. xvi. 18, Luke xii. 31, and John xxi. 15, in a special sense to the Pope as successor of St. Peter	217
	3. The original derivation of Episcopal Jurisdiction from the person of Peter, and its perpetual fountain in the See of Rome as representing him	217
	4. The Papal Supremacy over the East acknowledged by its own rulers and Councils before the separation	235
	5. The Pope's attitude to Councils as indicating his rank ...	241
	6. His Confirmation of Councils	243
	7. The necessity of Communion with the Pope	246
VI.	ST. PETER'S PRIMACY AND THE ROYAL SUPREMACY	249
VII.	THE EFFECTS OF ST. PETER'S PRIMACY AND OF THE ROYAL SUPREMACY	261

III.

THE "ROYAL SUPREMACY" AND THE "SEE OF ST. PETER" A COMPETENT ANSWER TO "THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND CLEARED FROM THE CHARGE OF SCHISM," IN A LETTER TO DR. PUSEY, 1865.

THE DEFENCE OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH ATTEMPTED BY THE AUTHOR	273
COLLAPSE OF THIS DEFENCE OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH	292
IDENTITY OF PRIMACY WITH SUPREMACY	298
ANSWER TO DEFENCE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND	300

IV.

DR. PUSEY AND THE ANCIENT CHURCH, 1866.

PART		
I.	DR. PUSEY'S THEORY AS TO THE EFFECT OF THE SACRAMENTS ...	311
II.	DR. PUSEY'S STATEMENT AS TO THE AFRICAN CHURCH'S INDEPENDENCE OF ROME	340

PART PAGE

III. Dr. Pusey's Denial of the Ancient Church; or, a Comment from the Ancient Church upon Indissoluble Unity, Visible Headship, and Perpetual Teaching 376

Anglicans do not set forth their own position, but only make attacks on the Catholic Church 311
Dr. Pusey an exception in one place 312

(I.)

His theory of unity 312
At variance and contradiction with itself 313
His belief results in this: that the sacraments convey the life of Christ outside of unity 316
St. Augustine expressly denies this doctrine 316
What the Donatists had—
1. Valid orders 317
2. Undisputed succession 317
3. All the sacraments 317
4. The same faith as Catholics 318
5. The old episcopal constitution 318
6. The inheriting, not commencing, a schism 319
Donatism a sort of idealized Anglicanism 320
St. Augustine states—
1. Their only crime to be in their schism 321
2. That baptism received out of unity does not avail to salvation ... 324
3. Nor, in like manner, all the sacraments 326
4. More specifically, that sacramental grace is not received outside of unity 330
5. That death incurred for the name of Christ outside of unity is not martyrdom 337
6. Principle of the foregoing doctrine, as expressed by St. Augustine after St. Cyprian 338
Common to all the Fathers 339

(II.)

Dr. Pusey's statement as to the African Church's independence of Rome in St. Augustine's time 340
Refuted by St. Augustine himself 341
St. Augustine further solicits the Pope to confirm an episcopal sentence on the Bishop Antonius 344
Contrast in this between the African and the Established Church ... 345
Fresh statement of the question 347
St. Augustine's great argument against the Donatists, that they are not in the Vine 347

PAGE
What St. Augustine and St. Cyril mean by the Vine 349
St. Cyprian's expression of the "unity of the Episcopate" equivalent to this 350
The Council of Chalcedon on the Guardianship of the Vine 351
The doctrine of St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, St. Cyril, and the Council of Chalcedon, one and the same 353
How St. Leo describes the Guardianship of the Vine 354
This Guardianship declared by the Council to be of divine institution ... 357
The Council's witness ought to be decisive to Dr. Pusey 357
The Guardianship of the Vine the maintenance of the unity of Christ in faith and communion 358
Shown in the African Councils of Carthage and Milevis referring their decrees on the cause of Pelagius to Pope Innocent I. 358
Contrast—
1. Between the Anglican Church's independence of the Pope and the African Church's union with him 362
2. Between the modes of determining the question of grace in the two Churches 363
3. Between their modes of determining the possession of the episcopal office 364
Importance of recognizing the Guardianship of the Vine, in order to understand incidents of the first three centuries 365
These incidents, as quoted from Dr. Newman, read by the light of the Fourth Council 366
Difference of discipline no disproof that the Guardianship of the Vine always existed 367
The case of Apiarius rightly estimated 368

(III.)

St. Augustine's main argument against the Donatists 376
Dr. Pusey's statement and that of the Donatists compared 381
Dr. Pusey's belief issues in a mere negation, like that of all those who impugn St. Peter's Primacy in his successors 383
St. Augustine's argument against the Donatists identical with the belief of all the Fathers down to his time 384
Testimony of Clement of Rome 384
Ignatius of Antioch 385
Hermas 386
Author of letter to Diognetus 387
Justin Martyr 388
Irenæus 389
Tertullian 391
Clement of Alexandria 392
Origen 392
Dionysius of Alexandria 393
Cyprian 393
Eusebius of Cæsarea 394
Alexander, Archbishop of Alexandria 394

PAGE

Testimony of Athanasius 394
Basil 395
Gregory of Nyssa 396
Gregory of Nazianzum 396
Cyril of Jerusalem 397
Epiphanius 398
Chrysostom 399
Cyril of Alexandria 400
Theodoret 401
Pacian 402
Optatus 403
Hilary 404
Ambrose 405
Jerome 406
Paulus Orosius 407
Vincent of Lerins 407
Augustine 408
Leo the Great 408
Particular expressions of the Fathers above quoted 408
General summary 411
To this doctrine the Vincentian canon applies in its utmost rigour ... 412
To reject it, unpatristic in the highest degree 412
Circumstances under which it was applied 413
The Donatist, the Nestorian, and the Monophysite heresies 416
They are given up by Dr. Pusey 417
Intellectual dishonesty 418
His appeal to the "undivided" Church 420
Conclusion 420

INTRODUCTION.

Section I.—Coherence of the Four Treatises, and their Occasion.

The four treatises which compose the present volume have a logical coherency with each other, and when put together make up a whole, on which I think it desirable to say a few words.

The first and the second of these treatises were written by the author as a clergyman of the Established Church, who also held a benefice therein. The occasion of them was this. In the year 1846, the author, wounded to the quick by the conversion to the Catholic faith of one who had been up to that moment his guide and model, had, after studying that work upon development which conveyed to the world the reasons of the change, attempted, as a relief to his own mind, to compose a defence of the Church of England from the charge of schism. Having continued his researches on the subject during the two following years, he had published in 1848 a second edition, increased nearly threefold in size. But the defence of the Anglican Church from the charge of schism was only one half of the task which he felt to be imposed on his own mind for its satisfaction by Cardinal Newman's book. He thought it was equally necessary to meet the charge of heresy. Dr. Pusey also had counselled him to undertake this task upon the important subject of the Eucharist. He was busily engaged on this in the month of February, 1850, when he fell suddenly upon a discovery which

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arrested his hand, and made him feel that the purposed defence was deprived of its very basis. The discovery was that of a very simple fact, viz., that by a statute passed in the reign of Henry VIII., and accepted by the English Church, the Papal Supremacy had been transferred to the Crown; and that the existing relation between the Church of England and the State was simply the result of that statute, which, though it had been repealed under Queen Mary, had been re-enacted under Elizabeth.

The first of these treatises was the result of this discovery. The writer, at that time Rector of Launton, Oxon, proceeded to set forth the new light which had dawned upon him, to his intense consternation. For, indeed, it revealed to him a state of things which took away from him all power from that moment any longer to defend the religious community in which he had been born and bred, and with which all his hopes of prosperity in life were inextricably blended. The treatise which bears for title, "The Royal Supremacy viewed in Relation to the Two Spiritual Powers of Order and Jurisdiction," was put forth in order to see if any answer could be made to a fact which seemed to the writer utterly to destroy his position as a Churchman. It was sent as soon as published to many persons of eminence in the Anglican Church, with whom he was more or less in habits of intercourse, and by whom he could hope that the subject would be carefully weighed. For instance, to the late Judges Sir Edward Alderson and Sir J. T. Coleridge, to Mr. Keble, to Dr. Pusey, to Archdeacons Wilberforce and Manning. From none of these did the author receive publicly or privately any intimation that he had misstated facts, or drawn illicit conclusions from his premises. Neither friend nor enemy, so far as he knows, set himself to refute his treatise. By the party, so to call it, to which he himself belonged it was generally *ignored*, as being ill-timed, for it came out just at the moment of the Gorham decision; or as being importunate, because it brought forward facts most uncomfortable for a Churchman, to which, as

nothing could be produced to contradict them, it was desirable to close the eyes and refuse consideration.

This treatise will speak for itself. I need only say in two words that it pointed out how the government of the Church of England, as deriving from the Royal Supremacy its Mission and Jurisdiction, was, according to the principles maintained by Anglican Churchmen, and which had formed the very spring of the movement of 1833, untenable and even anti-christian.

II. The second treatise in this volume was composed by the writer some months later in the same year, 1850, when he was still a beneficed clergyman in the Church of England, but expressly to exhibit the grounds on which he felt that he was obliged to surrender that position. This occasion of it is very distinctly stated in the Preface to it, which ends with the words, "My last act as an Anglican, and my last *duty* to Anglicanism, is to set forth, as I do in the following pamphlet, what has induced me to leave it." In fact, the writer could not but feel that, having thus given up five years of his life to the consideration of one question so paramount in his eyes that all thoughts, studies, and prayers were directed to the solution of it, and having published in two editions a defence of the Church of England from the charge of schism, he was bound, when he had discovered that his defence was entirely beside the mark, to avow the change of conviction, and to publish also those proofs which had had so great an effect on his own mind as to tear him up by the roots from the community in which he had lived to middle age, and transplant him into another soil.

In this second treatise the claim of the Catholic Church, as resting on the Rock of Peter, is set forth from Scripture and tradition, not without regard to that special antagonism which has always existed between, on the one hand, the single and peculiar case of a national Church based upon a joint denial and assertion—the denial of the Apostolic See's jurisdiction in spiritual matters, and the assertion of the Civil

Ruler's Supremacy in those same spiritual matters; and, on the other hand, the Catholic Church receiving one mission for all lands and times by the hand of Peter from the Redeemer of the world.

III. A long interval of time ensued between the second and the third treatise. The author had been fifteen years in the Catholic Church, and during that time had never fallen in with any attempt on the part of an Anglican writer to meet the facts contained in his first and second treatises, when he was startled by an accusation from Dr. Pusey, published in the 237th page of his "Eirenicon," which he must consider as one of the strangest ever made against an author. For Dr. Pusey asserted *first*, that the treatise which I had written to set forth the grounds on which I was compelled to leave the Church of England, and which consisted in the testimonies of Councils and Fathers, and a long array of facts, was written "after that, in despair of the Church of England on the Gorham judgment, I had left it." I quote his own words. *Secondly*, Dr. Pusey asserted that this was no real answer to "the Church of England cleared from the charge of schism," alleging, as a reason for this judgment, that I wrote that former work, "not as a partisan, but as the fruit of investigations as to whose issue I was indifferent," a state of mind which he contrasted with "my despair of the English Church on the Gorham judgment." He shifted thus the cause which ruled my conduct from the Royal Supremacy itself, which is a permanent matter of fundamental principle, to a particular fact, a single exercise of that Supremacy; while he at the same time altered the character of my treatise, affirming that to be the work of a partisan, which was the retractation of a man convinced by the force of proof against every material interest.

This accusation led me to address a letter to Dr. Pusey, in which I drew out the relation between my former work in defence of the Church of England against the charge of schism, and the two treatises above mentioned. Having said

thus much, I leave the letter to speak for itself. It shows, in fact, that the two works on the Royal Supremacy and the See of St. Peter constitute together a sufficient answer to the previous work; that in truth the defence which I had constructed had been swept away root and branch by facts which occurred within two years after the defence had been published; not to dwell on the fact that the whole positive proof for the claim of the Catholic Church, which made up the mass of my second treatise, had been ignored by Dr. Pusey in his accusation.

This letter was sent to Dr. Pusey. Perhaps it is needless to add that the author received no acknowledgment of it, public or private. The accusation of Dr. Pusey remains in its original terms. I would not cite this as an act of personal or particular discourtesy. I rather think that in the mind of Dr. Pusey any seceder from the Church of England—with the exception of Cardinal Newman—is a sort of outlaw, who should be deprived of fire and water—truth and justice towards such a one were want of fidelity to the Anglican mother.

IV. But Dr. Pusey's "Eirenicon" was further the occasion of my considering the way in which Dr. Pusey, who professed obedience to the "Undivided Church," applied the principles held and practised by that Church to the condition of things in which he found himself. Dr. Pusey, in his "Eirenicon," assumed that he, in remaining a member and a minister of the Anglican Church, was free from the taint of heresy and of schism. This position led me to deal with the notion that the existence of the priesthood, and the thence-inferred possession of the Sacraments, in a community at once heretical and schismatical, delivers individuals therein from the guilt of heresy and schism. For there is every reason to believe that not Dr. Pusey only, but a number of persons in the Anglican Church believe the possession of valid orders to be a defence against heresy and schism. Of course, it is quite another question whether they really have such valid orders. But, prescinding from that question, I have endeavoured to

show that nothing can be more contradictory to the practice and principles of what Dr. Pusey calls the "Undivided Church," and by which he professes to rule himself, than this notion. For, in fact, in all times there have been both heretics and schismatics, who have possessed, not merely orders which they claimed to be valid while no others admitted them, but orders which the Catholic Church did not scruple to admit as valid. The Donatists were a signal instance of such. But this possession of orders in no degree tended to avert the guilt of schism or heresy; though it might render restoration, after confession of guilt, less difficult.

The few remarks hitherto made are enough to show that the four treatises which follow make up together at once an answer to former writings of the author, and a specific whole, completing each other.

Section II.—Corroboration of the Author's Statements in the History of the Church of England, 1850–1879.

I have spoken above of my consternation as an Anglican Churchman when I came upon the fact of the Royal Supremacy. The principle which seemed to me so fatal was that of deriving spiritual jurisdiction from the civil power. What light has been shed upon this subject by the history of the last twenty-nine years, since the Gorham decision, which was stirring the minds of all Anglican Churchmen when the discovery I have mentioned came upon me? This is the point which I propose now briefly to consider.

I. And, first, I am indebted to an ex-Prime Minister of England, renowned for his zeal against Popery, for the knowledge of a document which, it seems to me, removes all possible doubt as to the main fact, concerning the Royal Supremacy. On the 5th of March, 1875, the late Earl Russell addressed the following letter to a great organ of public opinion. I subjoin this letter:—

"THE OATH OF HOMAGE.

"*To the Editor of the Times.*

"SIR,—At a time when much discussion prevails on the subject of ecclesiastical and civil authority, excited in this country by Mr. Gladstone's admirable essays and his logical defence of his writings in the pamphlet called 'Vaticanism,' which no author is able to confute, and the same controversy rages in Germany, where the Roman Bishops proclaim the nullity of civil authority and the supremacy of sacerdotal laws over marriage and education, it may interest some of our Priests and Bishops to consult the oath of homage taken by every Bishop, kneeling before the Queen, when he obtains from the Queen the grant of the temporalities of his see.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"RUSSELL.

"Pembroke Lodge, Richmond Park, March 5."

"Bishop of ———. Oath of homage.

"I, ——, Doctor in Divinity, now elected, confirmed, and consecrated Bishop of ——, do hereby declare that your Majesty is the only supreme governor of this your realm in spiritual and ecclesiastical things, as well as in temporal, and that no foreign prelate or potentate has any jurisdiction within this realm; and I acknowledge that I hold the said bishopric, as well the spiritualities as the temporalities thereof, only of your Majesty. And for the same temporalities I do my homage presently to your Majesty. So help me God.

"God save Queen Victoria."

It would be impossible, I think, to devise a more unambiguous declaration that spiritual mission and jurisdiction are derived, in the Church which was set up by Queen Elizabeth, and continues what she made it, from the Crown, and from nobody but the Crown, than this charter professed by each of the Bishops of that Church, as he enters

on his office. There is a completeness of statement about it, which tells of the sheerness with which the Tudor axe severed heads, and does away with every attempt to palter and shuffle. From Elizabeth to Victoria, every Bishop humbly confesses on his knees, "I acknowledge that I hold the said bishopric, as well the spiritualities as the temporalities thereof, only of your Majesty." What is become of the successors of the Apostles? what of the jurisdiction belonging to episcopal or metropolitical or patriarchal sees? Where, above all, is the mission of the world's Redeemer, "Go and make disciples all nations"? The Elizabethan crosier is a stick which the temporal sovereign first lays over her Bishop's shoulders, and then gives him to keep his clergy in order with.

II. But we shall see that this ugliest of facts is fully acknowledged, not only by a Prime Minister, who, as placed in office by a majority of the House of Commons, wields the power of the Crown, and confers Anglican bishoprics, but by those on whom his choice falls. There can be no more fitting representative of the actual Church of England than the present Archbishop of Canterbury. In the tenth page of the preface, written by his Grace to "a Collection of the Judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Ecclesiastical Cases relating to Doctrine and Discipline,"* after remarking "that the national settlement dates from the Act of the following year, 25 Henry VIII., c. 19, when appeals to Rome in spiritual causes were first forbidden, and the rule of appeal to the King from all the Archbishops' Courts, the principle of which has ever since been maintained, was finally settled," he proceeds to say:

"The problem for the Reformers was how to secure National Church unity. With the wider union of the various National Churches in the Universal Church, they were not for the present occupied. Renouncing the Pope's authority, they looked for the outward manifestation of that wider unity to the representation of various National Churches in General

* Broderick and Fremantle, 1865.

Councils, gathered together according to ancient precedent, not without the will of civil rulers. And it is contended, if each National Church, consisting perhaps of several ecclesiastical provinces, was to be bound together in one outward constitution, this union could not be cemented without a national head of some kind. The Reformers knew that Metropolitans had become centres for uniting Bishops, and Patriarchs for uniting Metropolitans, not through any institution of Christ, but by the exigencies of the Christian community in past times; and they turned now not unnaturally to the civil ruler of the nation, as affording a ready means whereby the several dioceses and provinces in a Christian realm could be welded into one outward body.

"At first there was a tendency in our Reformers to overlook the distinction between the sacred functions of the clergy and the duties of the civil magistrate; both were acknowledged to derive their authority from the same source, and there might be a misconception, as if they derived this authority in the same way. But this misunderstanding, against which a protest was afterwards recorded in the thirty-seventh of the Thirty-nine Articles, produced no lasting practical evil. A marked line was soon recognized, now, as of old, as separating clerical functions, and all that purely spiritual authority which theologians comprehend under 'the power of the keys,' from temporal dominion."

Now, what I would remark upon this passage is, that Dr. Tait pointedly and specially notes the formation of a National Church, as distinct from the Catholic Church, to be the end aimed at by the Reformers; that it is clear from his statement that the only way which the Reformers saw to accomplish this was to substitute the Royal Supremacy for the Papal; that they actually pursued this plan, and accomplished it by the Act of Parliament transferring appeals in spiritual causes from the Pope to the King; that, further, there was "a tendency in our Reformers," which apparently proceeded into full act, "to overlook the distinction between

the sacred functions of the clergy and the duties of the civil magistrate." The tendency, so softly put by the Archbishop, was such that "both were acknowledged to derive their authority from the same source," *i.e.* civil jurisdiction and spiritual jurisdiction were acknowledged to be derived from the same source, and that source the King; "and there might be a misconception, as if they derived this authority in the same way." Upon this last very misty statement I need not at present dwell. The Archbishop says such misconception was protested against in the thirty-seventh Article. The "protest" he alludes to runs thus: "Where we attribute to the Queen's Majesty the chief government, by which Titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended; we give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in Holy Scriptures by God Himself: that is, that they should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers."

It may well be doubted whether there ever existed any "folk" so "slanderous" as to impute to Henry VIII. or Elizabeth a lust to preach and celebrate the Lord's Supper. This was not the least the question at issue. It was who should give Bishops and Priests authority to celebrate what Dr. Tait calls their "clerical functions" in any particular diocese or parish—who, in fact, should give them *mission* and *jurisdiction*, not the sacerdotal character itself, by virtue of which they could exercise mission and jurisdiction. That mission and jurisdiction had been given by the Pope in England, to speak within the mark, since he sent Augustine into England as missioner, just nine hundred and thirty-eight years before the innovation introduced by the Act of 25 Henry VIII. That mission and jurisdiction this Act of Par-

liament transferred from the Pope to the King, and so set up a National Church—it being, as Dr. Tait observes, the only way which the Reformers could find to establish the unity of a National Church, which they were desirous to found, over against and outside of the unity until then existing of the Catholic Church, the instrument of which was the Pope's jurisdiction.

I think, therefore, I may say that the discovery which so horrified me as an English Churchman in February, 1850, is fully admitted to be a fact by the present Anglican Primate, and is cheerfully embraced, and even exulted in, by him. It is fully admitted by the whole Low Church and by the whole Broad Church party; a large proportion of the High Church party likewise acquiesces in it. Dr. Pusey and his friends always turn their faces away from it. If burying his eyes and head in the sand could save the ostrich from his pursuers, perhaps the careful ignoring of this capital fact—the transference of the Papal jurisdiction to the Sovereign, which, in fact, as Dr. Tait observes, made up the government introduced by the Reformers, and constituted the distinctive government of the Church of England—the ignoring of such a fact, I say, by a certain party professing Catholic principles in that Church would save them from discomfiture. As it is, Dr. Pusey can write a book upon the Royal Supremacy without ever alluding to it. He discourses instead about the Royal Supremacy being a legal, not an arbitrary power, which nobody doubts.

III. There is another point not a little remarkable, both in the oath of homage tendered by each Anglican Bishop to the civil sovereign, and in the account of the purpose and conduct of the Reformers given by the present Archbishop of Canterbury, and this is the explicit repudiation of any spiritual jurisdiction belonging as a right to the Bishop's see, whether of Suffragan or Metropolitan. Says the oath: "I acknowledge that I hold the said bishopric, as well the spiritualities as the temporalities thereof, only of your Majesty."

Says the Archbishop: "The Reformers knew that Metropolitans had become centres for uniting Bishops, and Patriarchs for uniting Metropolitans, not through any institution of Christ, but by the exigencies of the Christian community in past times."

According to Dr. Tait, it would seem that our Lord, in setting up His kingdom upon earth, forgot so unimportant a matter as its jurisdiction, and left it to be evolved from below, "by the exigencies of the Christian community." The wiser Reformers were not so forgetful. "They turned," says the approving Archbishop, "not unnaturally, to the civil ruler of the nation, as affording a ready means whereby the several dioceses and provinces in a Christian realm could be welded into one outward body." In which words Dr. Tait acknowledges that the device of the Reformers was a purely human invention, to secure some sort of governmental unity, instead of that belonging to the Church from the beginning as the kingdom of Christ.

And this is the account given by a Christian man, who, we are told occasionally, is the successor of St. Augustine, St. Anselm, and St. Thomas; this is the account, given with all complacency, of the derivation of spiritual authority from temporal power in the community over which he presides. He repudiates, at least for himself, every atom of authority which is not derived from the State. It would be well if he could show what power the State has to confer spiritual authority. To talk of Roman corruptions is one thing, but to give a ground from Scripture, or tradition, or reason, for an Anglican institution on which the Established Church rests is quite another.

The Oxford movement of 1833 had relied for its basis entirely upon the conception of intrinsic spiritual powers belonging to Bishops as successors of the Apostles, as to which they were independent of State authority. For the exclusive patronage of the Established Church by the State, which had been surrendered by the Act emancipating the

Dissenters in 1828 and the Catholics in 1829, it was sought to substitute the Apostolical inheritance residing in the episcopal character. That, it was thought, was a sanctuary which the State could not invade; a treasure which it could neither give nor take away. Following this doctrine, I had endeavoured to defend the Church of England against the charge of schism by supposing that the Reformation in England had restored the rights of Bishops as impaired by a Papal usurpation. It will be seen at once how the discovery of the real nature of the Royal Supremacy cut away the very root of this defence. Nothing, it seems, as established by the oath of homage, and corroborated by Dr. Tait's statement, could be further from the mind of the Reformers than the setting up episcopal authority as such. Their special creation was a Church, the rulers of which received their mission to execute "clerical functions," by the grace, first of Henry and then of Elizabeth; and of which, it must be added, the actual Prelates continue to receive their mission no less now by the grace of the civil power: "I hold the said bishopric, as well the spiritualities as the temporalities thereof, only of your Majesty." That is the Anglican formula and essence of spiritual jurisdiction, just as the Catholic formula and essence are, "by the grace of God and the favour of the Apostolic See." Jurisdiction must come from somewhere. Catholics hold that it came from Christ direct to Peter and the Apostles, and through Peter to the whole body of the episcopate, and to each Bishop in particular, so long as he belongs to the undivided episcopate, and that, if he be severed from that undivided episcopate, he may have valid orders, but he can have no jurisdiction. Dr. Tait gratefully receives his jurisdiction on his knees from his Queen. Choose between the two. It is the Catholic Church on one side, on the other the spiritual department of the Anglican Government. Dr. Tait himself says that the Reformers, turning from the one, could only take the other. In this, I believe, he says truly.

IV. In the year 1850, two hundred and ninety-one years

had passed since the Bastard Queen, the offspring of an incestuous union, had put an end to the Catholic hierarchy in this country, and had erected instead an episcopate deriving avowedly from herself whatever spiritual jurisdiction it claimed to possess. Most fitting indeed it was that the derivation of spiritual jurisdiction from the civil power should have stamped upon its front the incestuous origin of its parent—for it was itself a monster introduced into Western Christendom. The fifteen centuries of Christianity had, up to that time, seen nothing like it. It was fitting that an infamy without its match—the repudiation by a King of his lawful wife, on the ground that she had been the wife of his brother, in order to take to himself for wife a woman whose sister he had corrupted—should have, in the daughter sprung from such concubinage, the propagator of a scheme to derive spiritual jurisdiction from the civil power—an act in the highest degree incestuous and unlawful in the spiritual order, as the other was incestuous and unlawful in the natural order, and both an outrage upon the kingdom of grace.

"Every sort of thing must necessarily revert to its original for its classification." * The Anglican Church in 1850 stood exactly where it stood in 1559. It could not rise above its origin; its foundation-stone was the derival of jurisdiction from the Crown. When St. Augustine preached to the King of Kent, he came with a jurisdiction from that Gregory, the first of his name, whom all succeeding generations have called "the Great" as well as "Saint." When Augustine's preaching had taken root in England, St. Gregory the Great empowered him to divide the country into bishoprics under two primatial sees, of Canterbury and York. That order of things, lasting through nine centuries and a half, and deriving its stability from the law of the Universal Church, and its authority from the see of Peter, the Bastard Queen changed for a succession of so-called Bishops, which presumed indeed to take the same

* "Omne genus ad originem suam censeatur necesse est."—Tertullian, De Præscriptioræ Hærebicorum, 20.

names, but accepted its right to exercise whatever sacerdotal power was left to it from one who could give none. No time can sanction such a tenure. An institution may be mixed up with a country's history, and baiting its ministers into dependence upon the civil power with the permission of marriage may enter by means of that natural tie into the private interests of countless families; it may become a conservative element in society, and, as it were, a part of the civil constitution; but its spiritual nature is not affected by all this. It remains what it was in the beginning—a monster unheard of in Christendom, a perpetual denial of Christ's commission, "As My Father sent Me, even so send I you." Peter, ever sitting on his throne, sent from age to age in the name of Christ; Elizabeth sent in her own name, and Elizabeth's successors did the same. Therefore, in 1850, another Gregory—by name Pius IX.—repeated, after more than twelve centuries, the act of his predecessor; he divided England once more into Catholic dioceses under a Metropolitan. It was a purely spiritual act, drawing with it no exercise of temporal power, no conferring of temporal rank, no imposition of temporal subsidy. It concerned those only who would yield to it voluntary obedience. Nevertheless, the country—whether followed or misled by that same Prime Minister whom I have quoted above as reminding Anglican Bishops, by the oath of homage, whence they received spiritual jurisdiction—the country rose in a storm against this act of the Sovereign Pontiff. But I wish specially to remark what those men in particular who derived their episcopal jurisdiction only from the civil power allowed themselves to say concerning this refounding of a Catholic hierarchy. The following quotations from a pamphlet published at the time, and entitled "The Anglican Bishops *versus* the Catholic Hierarchy," * will express to the life the spirit which breathed in their several charges. The epithets bear respectfully the names of the sees to whose tenants at the time they belonged:—

* By the late Mr. Serjeant Bellasis.

Insult to the Sovereign	London.
Audacious aggression	Chichester.
Daring aggression	Salisbury.
Subtle aggression	London.
Indecent aggression	Oxford.
Presumptuous aggression	Hereford.
Hostile aggression	St. Asaph.
Unparalleled aggression	York.
Most wanton and insolent aggression	London.
Arrogance and audacity of the Pope's aggression	London.
Insolent act of aggression	Rochester.
Aggression as dishonest as it is insulting	Worcester.
Just indignation at the recent aggression	Peterborough.
Arrogant assumption	London.
Papal assumption	Ripon.
Unwarrantable assumption	Canterbury.
Revolting and frightful assumption	Gloucester and Bristol.
Futile assumption	Chichester.
Unlawful assumption	Oxford.
Arrogant assumption	United Episcopate.
Insolent assumption	Oxford.
Monstrous assumption	Gloucester and Bristol.
Absurd and ridiculous pretension ...	London.
Audacious pretension	Gloucester and Bristol.
Ostentatious pretension	Chester.
Hollow, extravagant, and offensive pretension	St. David's.
Arrogant pretensions	Bangor.
Daring attempt	Gloucester and Bristol.
Insidious attempt	Hereford.
Schismatical attempt	St. Asaph.
Contemptible but persevering attempts	Bangor.

Intolerant claim	York.
Arrogant claim	Oxford.
Usurped spiritual authority	Manchester.
Offensive measure	Worcester.
Plausible pretensions of the Papal Communion	Oxford.
Wanton insult to the majesty of the Crown	Llandaff.
Wilfully blind intolerance	St. David's.
Feelings of contemptuous pity ...	St. David's.
Intolerable and usurped authority ...	York.
Daring display of Roman ambition ...	Exeter.
Shameless demonstration	Exeter.
Act of absurd arrogance	Ripon.
Insolent and insidious	Durham.
Bold and presumptuous measure ...	York.
Frivolous and contemptible document	Hereford.
Insulting message	York.
Unworthy and ungrateful requital ...	Manchester.
Spurious and schismatical hierarchy	London.
Insulting language	Rochester.
Arrogant language	Carlisle.
Unexampled encroachment ...	Canterbury.
Absurd arrogance	Ripon.
Blind infatuation	Ripon.
Feelings of indignation and abhorrence	London.
Novel and daring violation of ecclesiastical law	York.
Unwarrantable insult	United Episcopate.
Unparalleled insult	United Episcopate.
Feelings of indignation at the unwarrantable invasion	Lichfield.
Audacity of the Pope's attempt ...	London.
Insulting and presumptuous intrusion	York.

Audacious movement	York.
Popish usurpation	Oxford.
Schismatical assault	Salisbury.
Direct invasion	Salisbury.
Impotent efforts of the enemy ...	London.
Gratuitous insult	Lincoln.
Deplorable work of schism	Bath and Wells.
Arrogant interference	Ely.
Scandalous outrage	Hereford.
Act disgraceful to a minister of Christ	Bath and Wells.

The cause of all this hubbub was described in the following year in a manner so striking and graphic that I cannot forbear quoting it here:

"The special charge laid upon the Establishment is to be the keeper-in-ordinary of these national types and blocks from which Popery is ever to be printed off; of the traditional view of every Catholic doctrine; the traditional account of every ecclesiastical event, the traditional lives of Popes and Bishops, Abbots and Monks, Saints and Confessors; the traditional fictions, sophisms, calumnies, mockeries, sarcasms, and invectives, with which Catholics are to be assailed. Unitarians, Sabellians, Utilitarians, Methodists, Calvinists, Swedenborgians, Irvingites, Freethinkers—all these it can tolerate in its very bosom, no form of opinion comes amiss; but Rome it cannot abide. It agrees to differ with its children on a thousand points; one is sacred—that her Majesty the Queen is 'the mother and mistress of all Churches;' on one dogma it may rest without any mistake—that 'the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm.' Here is sunshine amid the darkness, sense amid confusion, an intelligible strain amid a Babel of sounds; whatever befalls, here is sure footing—it is 'No peace with Rome!' 'Down with the Pope!' and 'The Church in danger!' Never has the Establishment failed in the use of these important and effective watchwords; many are its shortcomings, but it is without reproach in the

execution of its charge. Heresy, and scepticism, and infidelity, and fanaticism may challenge it in vain; but fling upon the gale the faintest whisper of Catholicism, and it recognizes by instinct the presence of its connatural foe. Forthwith, as during the last year, the atmosphere is tremulous with agitation, and discharges its vibrations far and wide. A movement is in birth which has no natural crisis or resolution. Spontaneously the bells of the steeples begin to sound, not by an act of volition, but by a sort of mechanical impulse, Bishop and Dean, Archdeacon and Canon, Rector and Curate, one after another, each on his high tower, off they set, swinging and booming, tolling and chiming, with nervous intenseness and thickening emotion and deepening volume, the old ding-dong which has scared town and country this weary time; tolling and chiming away, jingling and clamouring, and ringing the changes on their poor half-dozen notes, all about 'the Popish aggression,' 'insolent and insidious,' 'insidious and insolent,' 'insolent and atrocious,' 'atrocious and insolent,' 'atrocious, insolent, and ungrateful,' 'ungrateful, insolent, and atrocious,' 'foul and offensive,' 'pestilent and horrid,' 'audacious and revolting,' 'contemptible and shameless,' 'malignant,' 'frightful,' 'mad,' 'meretricious,' bobs—I think the ringers call them—and bob royals and triple-bob majors and grandsires, to the extent of their compass and the full ring of their metal, in honour of Queen Bess, and to the confusion of the Pope and the Princes of the Church." *

Certainly, one who had just fled for refuge to the Catholic Church and the see of Peter, on the ground that Anglicanism was built upon the supremacy of the civil power, and subsisted throughout its course on the denial of the authority of St. Peter's See and the rejection of the communion of the Church throughout the world, could hardly receive a greater confirmation of both parts of his conviction than by that sudden and furious storm of Anglican anger. Ithuriel's spear

* Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England, pp. 72, 73, by Dr. Newman, 1851.

had touched the toad, and the demon sprang up in his true shape.

For, behold a contrast. The Establishment had been three centuries in existence. The line, begun by Parker with a questionable consecration, and a jurisdiction avowedly received from Elizabeth, had, by means of a tyranny continued for forty-four years with a diabolical malice and ingenuity, taken possession of the whole land, of bishoprics, deaneries, chapters, livings; had then, in the course of time, blended itself by marriage with the nobility and gentry; had served the State most humbly, submitting to exercise powers which claimed a divine origin only at the State's command, in reward for which its Bishops sat in Parliament with the baronies which they had inherited from Catholic times, when they were members of a universal hierarchy, and their chief was the first peer of the realm. The Catholics in the land, after three centuries of persecution, had become few. The large majority of them was but an immigration from Ireland of those who sought to hew wood and draw water for a livelihood in those cities of captivity which the richer island presented to them. At last the laws of persecution had been withdrawn; after five generations of ostracism, their vote was restored to the remnant of Catholic peers; their priests could no longer be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and their children were allowed to be educated. In the land of universal freedom, even religion was declared to be free, and, what is much more, even the Catholic religion. Then the successor of St. Peter spoke once more. It was but a word, but after the similitude of his Master he appointed a Metropolitan and twelve Suffragans, invested them with spiritual jurisdiction, and sent them forth to preach and teach according to the settled order of the Church which had subsisted during those nine centuries and a half preceding the revolution of Elizabeth. We have seen what happened in the Establishment. These Elizabethan ministers at once went mad. To use once more the words of one who described the scene as he witnessed it, they called Catholics and their

most sacred convictions "Antichristian, blasphemous, unclean, apostate, arrogant, profane, pestilent, sorcerers, Satanic, degraded, dishonest, false, tyrannical, offensive, selfish, contemptible, artful, wilfully blind, shameless, scandalous, disgusting, ignorant, cunning, audacious, ungrateful, defiled, domineering, gross, cursed, insidious, revolting, pagan, malignant, infatuated, corrupt in doctrine, and idolatrous in practice." And such were the words used: "Not by an ignorant mob led by demagogues, but by Bishops instructing and advising their flocks."

Mr. Serjeant Bellasis added: "Here I am sorely tempted to single out one of the episcopal band for a special remonstrance, who, having deliberately prepared a solemn document for the assent of his assembled clergy, was induced to add to its bitterness at the behest of those whom he had called together to advise. There are those who grieve for the hand that crowned the cruel vocabulary with the term 'idolatrous.' Such a charge, if made at all, should not be merely an accidental afterthought."

The words referred to, the last quoted in the list of epithets above, were those of Dr. Samuel Wilberforce, then Bishop of Oxford.

V. Nor did the wrath of the Elizabethan Church exhale itself only in the invectives of its ministers. At the time Dr. Newman and Mr. Serjeant Bellasis described the fury of its episcopate, the Legislature itself was engaged in discussing that measure of reprisals on the part of the State for what it considered an invasion of its spiritual jurisdiction, to which the Queen's assent was given in 1851, most appropriately, on the 1st of August, the Feast of St. Peter's chains. It seems the Anglican Legislature, in passing the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, was minded to renew those chains. That the words of Peter, sitting in his see, were words of power in the nineteenth century, as they had been in the first and in the sixth, could hardly be proved with a more forcible illustration than by this attempt of the legislative body in one of the greatest

empires of the world to frustrate their application. Perhaps it is enough to say that Peter wore his chains during a number of years without their practically limiting his freedom of spiritual action; they served as testimonies of his Apostolic power. And by-and-by the State, which had imposed them, suffered them to drop; the Act was repealed, without ever having been exercised, and where the utmost malice of heresy and schism is free to act, where the most profuse outpouring of calumny and misrepresentation is to be found in daily exercise by an unbridled press, there also England allows freedom once more, even to the Catholic Church.

I am appealing to the public acts which took place within a year after I became a Catholic—from September, 1850, to September, 1851—in proof of the correctness of what I said as to the Royal Supremacy, and its opponent, the divine jurisdiction of the see of St. Peter, in my two treatises which begin this volume. The way in which the promulgation of the Catholic hierarchy, on September 29, 1850, was received, proved to demonstration what the Royal Supremacy over the Established Church meant; proved it in an age of tolerance as plainly as the Elizabethan persecution proved it in an age of despotism. Not a Bishop in the whole lot of Anglican representatives appealed to anything but the invasion of that jurisdiction which they had received from the Crown. They had no *raison d'être* except that the Queen had made them. It was not Canterbury and York against the Roman Bishop, but the national will expressed in the oath of homage, and the mission thereupon received against what the then Archbishop of York (Dr. Musgrave) termed "the tyrannous rule of one who sitteth in the temple of God, exalting himself above all that is called God." I had good reason to feel what a simpleton I had been in attempting to defend the Church of England by supposing on her side a possession of inherent episcopal rights. One who left the Church of England at the same moment as myself, the brother of that very Prelate who termed the Catholic Church "corrupt in doctrine

and idolatrous in practice," exactly and most wittily expressed the state of things at the Gorham decision, when he represented the Church of England as Balaam's ass, remonstrating to her merciless rider in the words, "Am not I thine ass, upon which thou hast ridden ever since I was thine? Why then hast thou smitten me these three times?" *

We have seen above how decidedly Earl Russell reminded the prophet's ass of its condition, if it presumed to allege that it was something more than a beast of burden.

VI. In the sixth place let us proceed to review the judgments on doctrine and discipline which have taken place in the Anglican Establishment from the Gorham decision onwards to the present time.

And, first, a volume which I have before me, entitled "Six Judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Ecclesiastical Cases, 1850–1872," † begins its introduction with these words: "The jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as a final Court of Appeal in causes ecclesiastical is part of the supremacy of the Crown, from which all jurisdiction, spiritual or temporal, is derived; but the ecclesiastical jurisdiction which flows from the supremacy is merely coextensive with the temporal jurisdiction. The Crown has no higher power in causes ecclesiastical than in temporal matters."

Here the writer exactly states the fact which forms the *gravamen* of my first treatise; this is, that by the "National Settlement," as Dr. Tait calls it, of the Reformation, the State claimed and exercised an equal and parallel jurisdiction in things spiritual, that is, in the kingdom of Christ, as in things temporal, that is, in civil government.

The Act of 1 Elizabeth, c. 1, secures the Royal Supremacy

* This referred to two previous judgments which had gone against High Church doctrine; one of them, if I mistake not, was the case of Faulkner *v.* Lichfield, or the stone altar case, in which the Arches Court of Canterbury, by the judgment of Sir H. Jenner Fuit, reversed the grant of a faculty for the erection of a stone altar, January 31, 1845.

† Brooke, 1874.

by the statute law of the realm. It consists of two parts. The first of these is the denial of "any manner of power, jurisdiction, superiority, authority, pre-eminence or privilege, on the part of any foreign Prince, Prelate, State, or Potentate," which means, of course, the successor of St. Peter. As to this, I would remark that as St. Peter himself, like his Divine Master, was a Jew, so the successor of St. Peter might be one who was not born an Englishman, and therefore a foreigner. Such an objection against his authority, therefore, might be pleaded with exactly as much or as little force against the authority of our Lord Himself; for unless we submit to be saved by a Jew, we cannot be saved at all. But this thought naturally did not occur to those whose very object was to absorb the divine in the human kingdom, and to kindle a flame of indignation against the bearer of spiritual authority by representing him as the antagonist of the national power personified in the sovereign. They put aside St. Paul's saying, that in the Church of Christ "there is neither Gentile nor Jew, barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free," and instead of it, in the kingdom of Christ and the household of saints made the Vicar of Christ "a foreigner."

The second part of the statute enacts that "such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority have heretofore been or may lawfully be exercised for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state or persons, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, and enormities, shall for ever be united and annexed to the imperial Crown of this realm."

This second part, then, for ever annexed and united the power which the Pope, who is the only person meant in this long array of attributes, had hitherto exercised in this realm, to the imperial Crown thereof.

Again, the Canons of 1603, passed by Convocation, and sanctioned by the King, which, says this writer, "bind the

clergy as far as they are not contrary to the statute and common law of England," decree as follows: "That all ecclesiastical persons having cure of souls, shall, to the uttermost of their wit, teach and declare that all usurped and foreign power" (*i.e.* the power of the Pope as Vicar of Christ) "is for most just cause taken away and abolished, and that, therefore, no manner of obedience and subjection is due to any such foreign power; but that the Queen's power within her realms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, is the highest under God, to whom all men do by God's laws owe most loyalty and obedience before and above all other powers and potentates of the earth."

This, as concerns civil obedience to the civil ruler, is true; but then, no other powers or potentates of the earth sought or seek to interfere with that. But in the Canons it extends to obedience to the Queen as Governor of the Church—as to which she has not, by the law of God or ordinance of Christ, one atom of spiritual power; but, as a baptized person, is simply a sheep of Christ's fold, owing obedience herself to the spiritual authority as much as the meanest of her subjects.

But the clergy of the Established Church are, as this writer plainly shows, bound to yield to her "loyalty and obedience before and above all other powers and potentates of the earth," in spiritual matters also. And here there was only one power or potentate of the earth against whom these words were levelled; and it was he who sat at Rome in the see of Peter, the Vicar of Christ.

Most clearly, therefore, the Anglican Church requires her ministers to pay obedience to the Queen "as the highest power under God" in the government of the Church, and, in so doing, to deny the authority of that other "power and potentate of the earth," the Vicar of Christ.

And, in considering the end which both Statute and Canon have in view, it must by no means be forgotten that the Anglican Church's own Bishops are passed over in a silence

which would be contemptuous were it not the expression of a principle which the framers of both Statute and Canon felt to be all-important. They are passed over because they are functionaries who receive their mission and jurisdiction only from the Crown; just as, in defining the authority to which civil obedience is due, no mention would be made of the Lords-Lieutenants of counties. And I would entreat all those who have in their souls a sense of the divine powers received from the Holy Ghost, by virtue of which the Church of God is governed, well to consider how very human a thing the Anglican Church is proved to be by this Statute, the charter of its foundation, and the originator of its episcopal line. The Queen's Majesty in her realm has Bishops as she has magistrates, but the duty of obedience to the one is no more mentioned than the duty of obedience to the other. To her alone in both cases obedience is due. She makes both. As her Archbishop says, "Both were acknowledged to derive their authority from the same source." She, as civil ruler, assigns the jurisdiction to each; she invests them with their respective missions.

Moreover, we must specially note the twofold obligation lying upon the Anglican clergy, to reject one jurisdiction and to uphold the other. For by this Statute and these Canons the Anglican Church in its actual state is *founded* upon the principle of deriving spiritual jurisdiction from the civil power. The result is, that the community so founded is not merely schismatical and heretical, as being in fact divided from the Universal Church, or in fact holding doctrine rejected by it, but that it is founded precisely upon schism and heresy. Upon schism, because the bond which holds it together and makes it a body, a government, is the supremacy of the civil power; and upon heresy, because this is not only in itself a heresy, but is likewise linked with another heresy, the rejection of the spiritual jurisdiction of St. Peter's successor. Thus schism and heresy are joined together in the fact which is the Anglican Church's foundation-stone.

Exactly as the Catholic Church, when viewed as a divine government of souls, is based upon the rock of Peter, so the Anglican Church, viewed as a spiritual government, is based upon the reception of spiritual jurisdiction from the State.

The change of spiritual government enacted by the Henrinian and Elizabethan revolution has, it must be admitted, one merit—that of great simplicity. It was at once accomplished when it had transferred to the Crown the supreme authority hitherto exercised by the Pope. Here I may quote Mr. Froude, who says, "The authority of the Church over the State, the supreme kingship of Christ, and consequently of him who was held to be Christ's Vicar above all worldly sovereigns, was an established reality of mediæval Europe. To the Popes was the ultimate appeal in all causes of which the spiritual courts had cognizance." * This power the Act of Parliament, first of Henry, and then of Elizabeth, transferred from the Pope to the King or Queen.

It is evident at once that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in ecclesiastical cases is a legal derivation of this power. It must be confessed that it is far within its possible range. The ministers and the members of the Anglican Church who accept the Royal Supremacy—and none can honestly remain ministers and members, and at the same time evade it and the obligation of obedience which it carries with it—are therefore legally subject to the decisions of this court. Every Christian principle, I admit, revolts against a court founded on such a supremacy; but those who admit the supremacy must digest the court. They hold their orders, no less than their livings, on the primal tenure of this supremacy; they have no right to reject one of its consequences.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is the successor of the Court of Delegates, and a controversy has been waged on the point—what proportion of Bishops or ecclesiastics have

* History, vol. i. p. 428, second edition.

sat as judges upon the one or the other. An effort has been made to show that the Committee of Council is not a lawful tribunal because its judges are laymen. But if, from the beginning of the Court of Delegates to its abrogation more than forty years ago, and from the substitution of the Judicial Committee in its stead to the present day, none but Bishops had sat in each court, its jurisdiction could in no degree have been affected. The original defect of a spiritual court which derived its jurisdiction from a temporal authority would in no sort be cured by that temporal authority using the most appropriate subjects for the exercise of its powers. Bishops sitting upon it would sit in virtue of a supposed spiritual jurisdiction coming to them from the civil power, not in virtue of divine powers which belong to orders. This would no less be the case if they were real Bishops, about the validity of whose orders there was no question. The authority of a court rests entirely upon its jurisdiction; if this is invalid, no individual value or capacity in its members can supply what is wanting. A court established by the Royal Supremacy cannot rise above its source. In civil matters it would be rightfully what it claimed to be; in spiritual, its judgments, upon Catholic principles, and the principles no less of English Churchmen as set forth by the movement of 1833, would be absolutely null, whoever were its members.

But further, the results which appear to me to be contained in the judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council from the Gorham case to the present day are such as these:

First of all, from them we derive a clear view of the nature of the Royal Supremacy in spirituals, as founded upon the statute 25 Henry VIII., re-enacted by 1 Elizabeth.

In Fremantle, p. 110, it is stated that Lord Chief Justice Campbell delivered judgment on the 28th April, 1850, upon a point raised by the opponents of the decision in the Gorham case—the point, namely, maintained by Sir Fitzroy Kelly, on behalf of the Bishop of Exeter, that, in a matter touching the

Crown, an appeal does not lie to the Queen in Council, but lies to the Upper House of Convocation. Lord Campbell, deciding in the negative this claim, says, "In the following year (1534) Henry, finding that there was no chance of succeeding with his divorce suit with the sanction of the Pope, and being impatient to marry Ann Boleyn, resolved to break with Rome altogether, and preserving * all the tenets of the Roman Catholic faith, to vest in himself the jurisdiction which the Pope had hitherto exercised in England. Sir Thomas More had now resigned the Great Seal; and it was held by the pliant Lord Audley, who was ready to adopt the new doctrines in religion, or to adhere to the old, as suited his interests."

He proceeds to say that this seizure of the Papal jurisdiction was effected by the statute 25 Henry VIII., c. 19, by which, "instead of allowing the decision of the Archbishops to be final," as it was by statute 24 Henry VIII., c. 12, the Legislature now enacted that, "for lack of justice at or in any of the courts of the Archbishops," "it shall be lawful to the parties grieved to appeal to the King's Majesty in the King's Court of Chancery, where delegates are to be appointed under the Great Seal, who are to adjudicate upon the appeal. *This appeal is given in all causes in the courts of the Archbishops of this realm, as well in the causes of a purely spiritual nature which might hitherto have been carried to Rome,* as in the classes of causes of a temporal nature, enumerated in statute 24 Henry VIII., c. 12."

Lord Chief Justice Campbell further cites Lord Coke in support of his judgment. In his 4th Institute, p. 340, commenting upon the statute 28 Henry VIII., c. 19, this great lawyer says, "A general prohibition that no appeals shall be pursued out of the realm to Rome, or elsewhere.

* The Lord Chief Justice, in so speaking, seemed not to be aware that unity of faith and of communion is a tenet of the Roman Catholic faith; and consequently that Henry, in rejecting the Pope's jurisdiction, which is the bond of that unity, was *ipso facto* breaking a tenet of the Catholic faith—one indeed of primary importance.

Item, a general clause that all manner of appeals, what matter soever they concern, shall be made in such manner, form, and condition within the realm, as is above ordered by 24 Henry VIII., in the three causes aforesaid; and one degree further in appeals *for all manner of causes* is given, viz., from the Archbishop's Court to the King in his Chancery, where a commission shall be awarded for the determination of the said appeal, and from thence no further."

With this judgment of Lord Campbell ended all attempts to dispute or limit the Royal Supremacy *in appeals for all manner of causes*.

Now, firstly, we see that a power was given by this statute to the civil ruler which is acknowledged by our greatest lawyers to have belonged up to that time to the Pope, and to have been exercised by him here as well as everywhere else. It was a power the exercise of which by Christian Kings was hitherto unheard of, and this, not only in Western Christendom but in Eastern Christendom also, for the uttermost stretch of imperialism in the Eastern Roman empire had not reached so far, and it was contrary to the independence then enjoyed, as its possession from the beginning, by the Russian Church. Even the Turk, in his oppression of the Greek Church, had not seized it. Who or what was Henry, that he should arrogate it to his crown?

Secondly, this statute not only transferred to the King an authority hitherto exercised by the Pope, but by the same stroke it degraded the Bishops and Archbishops of the King's realm from the place they had hitherto occupied, as feeding each one his portion of the flock of Christ, over which the Holy Ghost, by the hand of Peter, had made them Bishops, to the condition of mere officers of the King, discharging a spiritual jurisdiction under him, which they received from him, just as all the civil officers of his kingdom received their civil jurisdiction from him—an infinite degradation, which lies upon the Anglican episcopate to this day; infinite, because it changes the mission of the Holy Ghost for the

exercise of divine endowments, into the mission of a civil ruler, incapable of communicating it.*

Thirdly, the statute enacted not only what was contrary to all Christian practice, and to all Christian history, up to that time, in all the countries wherein the Christian religion had been planted; but it enacted what is contrary to reason, inasmuch as it confounded the divine kingdom, and the functions carried on in it by a divine gift proceeding from the Person of our Lord, with the functions of the human kingdom, which is the outcome of the natural society of man. God, indeed, stood at the head and origin of this natural society of man, and authorized the powers that be, as proceeding, mediately, from him; but he had distinguished from it the spiritual kingdom of His Son, and up to that time all Christian nations had recognized the distinction. Henry began this fundamental confusion of the divine with the human kingdom; for the seizure of jurisdiction is the seizure of the supreme power, on which the *exercise*, though not the *essence*, of all authority rests.

Fourthly, nothing can exceed the baseness of the motive assigned, in giving this judgment, by the Lord Chief Justice Campbell to Henry, as that which induced him to break what had been the fundamental law and invariable practice of his realm since it had been a Christian country. It was to gain the adulterous and incestuous possession of the wretched object of his lust, whom he was presently to sacrifice by a bloody death to his jealousy. What was Esau's selling his birthright for a mess of pottage to this infamy on the part of a Christian King?

Fifthly, such was the Royal Supremacy in its institution, by the statute 25 of Henry VIII., which was re-enacted by 1 Elizabeth. It has lasted more than three centuries; but no prescription can make that right which was originally contrary to all Christian principle and practice and to reason itself.

* I am here prescinding altogether from the question of the validity of Anglican orders. I speak of what the effect would be if those orders were valid, as in the Russian Church, which will be presently considered.

In the *second* place, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has been substituted, as we have seen, for the Court of Delegates, originally appointed under the Royal Supremacy, as enacted by the above-named statute. Being a court derived from the Royal Supremacy, in which indeed the sovereign decides personally, it has had to deal, from the Gorham case inclusively to the present time, with questions which embrace the whole range of Christian belief and Christian life. Thus, in the judgment Heath *v.* Burder, in 1862, it had to deal with our Lord's atonement, with justification, and the forgiveness and remission of sins. In the cases of Williams *v.* the Bishop of Salisbury, and Wilson *v.* Fendale, it had to deal with the inspiration of Scripture, the doctrine of eternal rewards and punishments, the belief in prophecy, and many of the most intricate questions of theology. In the Gorham case in 1850, it had to deal with the point whether clergymen of the Church of England were bound to believe and teach the regeneration of infants, in and by virtue of baptism.* In the cases of Liddell *v.* Westerton and Liddell *v.* Beal, it laid down that in the Church of England there was "no longer an altar of sacrifice, but merely a table at which the communicants were to partake of the Lord's Supper; that the term altar is never used to describe it, and there is an express declaration at the close of the Service against the doctrine of transubstantiation, with which the ideas of an altar and sacrifice are closely connected."

From this very imperfect enumeration of subjects dealt with by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the last twenty-nine years, which could be extended *ad libitum*, it will be seen that a number of doctrines dear to a Christian man have already been brought under its decision—a decision final, and without appeal. The court has power by an unjust judgment to torture to the utmost degree the consciences of those who feel that they are by solemn engagements subject to its control, as is the case with every one who submits to the Royal Supremacy in spiritual things.

* See Brooke's Privy Council Judgments, pp. 66–73.

In the *third* place, there runs through the whole series of judgments the same radical vice—that the court, while it is bound, from its nature, to have brought under its cognizance not only questions which involve a decision whether heresy has or has not been committed in a particular case, but questions which touch the very foundation of all Christian belief, yet avows itself to be uncommissioned to judge what the Christian faith, on any of the statements inculpated, is; avows that it has nothing to do with the Christian faith in times preceding what Archbishop Tait calls the "national settlement," or with the Christian faith in the actual Church throughout the world, but that it is limited to determine, by the Thirty-nine Articles as the chief standard of faith, what may or may not be held by an Anglican minister. Only when the meaning of these Articles is not clear, it may use, as subsidiary to them, dogmatical declarations when they are to be found in the Prayer-book.

On these grounds it decided, in the Gorham case, that it was open to an Anglican minister to hold and teach baptismal regeneration, but not punishable in an Anglican minister to deny it. On these grounds it decided that, as the thirty-first Article had declared, "The sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits;" and as the altar had been changed into a table, and every mention of the sacrifice been expunged from the Eucharistic Service—the altar set up at St. Barnabas's, Pimlico, must be removed, and a table substituted, and that ceremonies indicating a belief in the sacrifice of the altar could not be introduced into the public service by the private act and private belief of a minister. On these grounds it decided that essays impugning the inspiration of Scripture, and containing other dangerous doctrines, could not be censured as passing beyond the bounds of "comprehension" allowed to Anglican ministers, inasmuch as the points in question were not decided or even touched upon in the Articles of Religion.

In the *fourth* place, these judgments severally and collectively bring out the fact, that, whether the judgments referred to the Queen by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in matters of doctrine and discipline are in themselves just or not just—by which I mean in accordance or not in accordance with the premises on which they are grounded, viz., the "national settlement," made when the Royal Supremacy was finally enacted under Elizabeth—they uniformly exhibit the actually existing Anglican Church as a form of spiritual government standing apart and by itself, and having nothing to do with the faith of the Church from the beginning, or with the faith of the actual Church outside its own domain now, but acknowledging its standard of doctrine to be contained in a list of heterogeneous statements strung together in the Thirty-nine Articles, because they were enacted by statute of Parliament in the year 1571, and are enforced by virtue of the Royal Supremacy as it had been enacted by the same authority in 1559. The court itself, issuing from the exercise of that supremacy, and constituted to refer matters regarding doctrine and discipline to the standard of such Articles, must perform its functions in accordance with the jurisdiction from which it is derived, and in deference to that standard of doctrine which the power which commissions it recognizes. It is no fault of the court if it pronounces that to be allowed which the Christian Church has held for heresy from the beginning. Moreover, the so-called judgments of this court are really nothing more than reports to her Majesty in Council, to whom alone the real judgment in Christian doctrine and discipline belongs in virtue of her supremacy.

For, in the *fifth* place, it is not the least important lesson which we learn from the Supreme Court of Anglican orthodoxy, that every judgment in such matters is a personal judgment of the sovereign. For instance, in the important case of Gorham *v.* the Bishop of Exeter, "the members of the Judicial Committee present at this appeal were Lord Langdale, Lord Campbell, Sir James Parke, Dr. Lushington, Sir J. L. Knight

Bruce, and Mr. Pemberton Leigh," while "the Archbishops of Canterbury (Sumner) and York (Musgrave), and the Bishop of London (Blomfield), assisted by special command of her Majesty." Surely all may feel that no legal learning was wanting in the lay *judges*, and all Anglican consciences would admit that no spiritual rank was wanting in the episcopal *assessors*. These judges and assessors, having duly heard the case, "humbly report to her Majesty that the sentence pronounced by the learned Judge of the Arches Court of Canterbury ought to be reversed, and that it ought to be declared that the respondent, the Lord Bishop of Exeter, has not thereon sufficient cause why he did not institute Mr. Gorham to the said vicarage." And they add, "We shall humbly advise her Majesty to remit the cause with that declaration to the Arches Court of Canterbury, to the end that right and justice may there be done in this matter, pursuant to the said declaration."

Thereupon her Majesty held a court at Buckingham Palace, the 9th day of March, 1850. There were present at this court

"The Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.
His Royal Highness Prince Albert.

Lord President.	Lord John Russell.
Lord Chamberlain.	Viscount Palmerston.
Marquis of Clanricarde.	Mr. Fox Maule.
Earl of Carlisle.	Sir John Hobhouse, Bart.
Earl Grey.	Sir George Grey, Bart."

It may be remarked, parenthetically, that not one of the Queen's counsellors who acted as judges or as assessors in the report made to her Majesty, were present at the act of authority which ratified the report.

Then, after a recital of what had passed, "Her Majesty, having taken the said report into consideration, was pleased, by and with the advice of her Privy Council, to approve thereof, and of what is therein recommended, and to order, as it is

hereby ordered, that the same be duly and punctually observed, complied with, and carried into execution. Whereof the said Official Principal of the Arches Court of Canterbury, and all other persons whom it may concern, are to take notice, and govern themselves accordingly.

"(Signed) W. L. BATHURST." *

By all which it will be seen that in a matter of doctrine of the highest moment, involving, in fact, the whole sacramental system of the Church, her Majesty decides as Pope in her own Church. She appoints judges, and adds her chief Bishops, not as judges but assessors; she hears their report, but ratifies it by her own intrinsic authority, the authority of the Royal Supremacy in matters spiritual.

At the same time, it is fair to admit that in thus pronouncing a final judgment upon what is in fact the Christian faith, her Majesty is quite within the terms of the statute, which "for ever, by authority of Parliament, united and annexed to the imperial Crown of this realm, such jurisdictions, privileges, powers, and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been or may lawfully be exercised or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities." † And in the exercise of this definitive judgment on the highest matters of faith, it is to be noted that though she uses the most learned lawyers of the kingdom as her advisers, and requests the highest Bishops to attend as assessors, she uses both lawyers and Bishops merely as instruments; having so used them sentence proceeds solely from herself—she exercises, for those subject to her in spiritual things, a power which is exercised by the Vicar of Christ alone in the Catholic Church.

* Fremantle's Judgments, pp. 64, 105.

† Elizabeth, c. 1, sec. 17.

It is this power which constitutes the distinctive government of the Anglican Church, at once giving its Bishops their jurisdiction, and issuing definitive judgments in matters of faith.

The pretension to act as the Vicar of Christ in rendering definitive judgments in matters of faith, conferred, or should we say imposed, on the sovereign by 1 Elizabeth, c. 1, is carried out in a singular degree in another point. There is no indication of sovereign power in spiritual matters more decisive than the giving of *mission* or *jurisdiction*. Thus the first creation, and the subsequent division or rearrangement of episcopal sees, is a privilege which belongs to the Holy See. It cannot be doubted that in the first instance the College of Apostles, having St. Peter at its head, divided the world for the work of evangelizing it, assigning to each Bishop his sphere of action. From that division sprang the whole order of the ancient Church, at the head of which stood the three sees of Peter—Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, as St. Gregory the Great, in his letters, observed to the Patriarchs of the two latter sees. His predecessor, St. Innocent I., had written in the year 416, "how it was a well-known fact, that in all Italy, the Gauls, the Spains, Africa, and Sicily and the interjacent islands, no one had instituted dioceses except those whom the venerable Apostle Peter, or his successors, had appointed to be Bishops."*

We have seen how Elizabeth arrogated to herself this right, and how the mission of all the so-called Bishops, from Parker downwards in the Anglican Church, is derived from her or her successors. But this assumption has extended to the English colonies also, and the Crown not merely appoints Bishops, but determines the circumscription of bishoprics, divides them, or rearranges them, according to its pleasure.† The Colonial Anglican Church is the Gospel preached according to Royal

* Epist. ad Decentium, Coustant. p. 856.

† See section VI. of "The See of St. Peter," where the subject is more fully treated. I only allude to it here, as making up the complement of sovereign spiritual rights seized upon by the civil power in the Church of England.

order, by Prelates who have unction from the State; and in them is seen the remarkable anomaly of the Crown possessing, in spiritual jurisdiction, a personal supremacy which it does not exercise in civil affairs; and also the most singular aping of that supreme power of jurisdiction conferred by Christ Himself on St. Peter and his successors.

And here I conclude the short review which it was my purpose to make of the facts which have corroborated all the statements concerning the Royal Supremacy made by me in 1850, in the two treatises standing at the head of this volume. They are: 1. The episcopal oath of homage; 2. Archbishop Tait's averments; 3. His disclaimer of any jurisdiction inherent in the episcopate; 4. The Catholic hierarchy established in 1850, and the outcry raised upon it; 5. The Ecclesiastical Titles Act; 6. The action of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in its various judgments; 7. The Royal spiritual jurisdiction in the colonies.

But before passing from the subject, I would wish to make a few reflections on the actual state of the Church of England, viewed as the result of the historical facts which we have been surveying.

The derivation of mission and jurisdiction in the Church of England from the Crown—a matter entirely distinct from the nomination of particular persons to fill the office of Bishops—constitutes the only authority and the only unity which the Church of England now possesses, or has ever possessed. It is a unity of government quite unaffected by diversity of doctrine. For instance, a Prime Minister may, in the same year, promote a Low Churchman, a High Churchman, and a Broad Churchman to the episcopate, and in each case they will receive their authority to be Bishop of that particular see from the Crown; and the whole episcopate, so receiving it, remains in the hand of the Crown, not in virtue of the nomination, but in virtue of receiving its *mission* from the Crown. In this, the Crown is to them precisely what the Pope is to all Bishops of the Catholic Church.

Again, the supreme judge of doctrine in the Anglican Church is the sovereign personally, in virtue of the Royal Supremacy conferred on her by statute, as we have seen in the sentence of the Gorham judgment, which has been cited in detail. It is exactly the same in all the other judgments.

In civil matters the civil judges decide ultimately; but in spiritual matters they refer humbly to her Majesty, who decides personally: as, for instance, whether children are regenerated in baptism, or the table is an altar, and by consequence whether there is or is not a priesthood in her Church, and whether our Lord is or is not present in her Eucharistic rite. All this power of judgment, and much more authority yet, the Act 1 Elizabeth, c. 1 for ever annexed to the imperial Crown of this realm, having first taken it from the Vicar of Christ, as "a foreign power."

And it must in all honesty be acknowledged that the Royal Supremacy, as it originates all mission in the Church of England, an origination which her Bishops emphatically express in their act of homage, so it has actually kept the Church of England one governmental body, from the day of its enactment to the present time.

And the Royal Supremacy being double, that is, denying to the successor of Peter what it gives to the successor of William the Conqueror, the Church of England, as proceeding out of it, may with the utmost truth cry out, "Schism and heresy are my life, and no accident of my being, but my very self; for I am what I am, and what I have been since 1559, in virtue of the Royal Supremacy. My Bishops draw their jurisdiction from it; my people are judged in spiritual matters by my Queen. Look at me well, because I am nearly, if not quite, unique upon earth."

Nevertheless, *surgit amari aliquid.* In the conception of Henry, and likewise of Elizabeth, the English Crown was one imperium equally in civil and in spiritual matters, and its supremacy in both was intended to embrace all the people subject to the English Crown. But of the thirty-four millions

now living within the four seas a good half do not recognize this supremacy at all. The Scotch nation is divided into three Presbyterian communities, the Episcopal Church, and the Catholic; and no one of the five acknowledges the Queen, either as the giver of spiritual jurisdiction, or as the supreme judge of doctrine. The Irish nation is divided between Catholics, who are about three-fourths, and Presbyterians, who, with the lately emancipated Episcopal Church, make up the remainder; these three bodies, and all Irish Dissenters, reject the Royal Supremacy. Lastly, in England, it is repudiated, not only by Catholics, but by all classes of Dissenters, who are many millions—the returns do not enable one to say how many. Thus the authority for ever annexed by statute to the imperial Crown of these realms, by which the Established Church exists, is formally rejected by half of the imperium.

It is the distinguishing mark of the Anglican Church, but it is a remarkable fact, that no one of her past or present Bishops or controversial writers have ever set themselves to prove that it is compatible, either with historic facts before the time of Henry, or with the Christian faith in itself, or with reason, as the general guide of human things. These Bishops and writers, both in past times and in present, are accustomed to impute corruptions, whether in morals, or in discipline, or in doctrine, to the Catholic Church. This is their usual defence of the Church of England. But such facts, even if they were true, have not even the slightest tendency to justify the position taken up by the Anglican Church in 1559. What they need for the defence of their Church is to show that the Royal Supremacy is in accordance with Scripture and history, consonant to faith, and not opposed to reason; that our Saviour has made promises to be with it and with the Bishops who are created by it; that He has promised in general to be with Bishops who allege that they make a portion of the Church, though not in communion with the rest of it, even as they themselves conceive it, and who besides receive their spiritual jurisdiction from a King or Queen. Up

to this moment, I cannot remember to have seen a single word alleged either from Scripture, or tradition, or reason, in behalf of these propositions, on the truth of which the Church of England rests for its chance of being in the way of salvation. On the other hand, I never take up a work by any champion of the Anglican Church, from Cranmer to Tait inclusively, without finding scandalous imputations upon the doctrine and discipline of the Roman Church. But if, upon the question whether the worship of Jehovah or the worship of Baal were the worship of the one true God, a theme maintaining that the Canaanites were right in sacrificing to Baal because the Israelites had by a divine command come into their country and dispossessed them, had been shown up in my time at Eton, it would certainly have been marked as *nihil ad rem*. As little to the point seem to me assertions denying the purity of the Catholic Church, when used in defence of the Anglican. It is not Roman wrong, but Anglican right, which has to be proved. I want to know on what ground persons claiming to be Christian Bishops receive spiritual jurisdiction from the civil power. And I want to know on what ground controversies of the faith are decided by Queens. These questions are not national but universal; and the right relation between the divine and the human commonwealth is not one in England, and another on the Continent: not insular, but ecumenical.

But if the Royal Supremacy has kept the Church of England in one government, it has by no means kept it in one doctrine. The simple expedient of putting the sovereign in the place of the Pope, and the logical unity and complete carrying out in its history of the principle which makes its government, may profitably be contrasted with the utterly incoherent and illogical compromise of its doctrinal statements. These have issued in a threefold antagonism of High, Low, and Broad Church parties, with their innumerable shades of variation—for, indeed, before I left the Anglican Church I had come to find that every minister was, I cannot say a *school*, for that implies a coherence of doctrine, but an

opinion in and for himself. At any rate, it is within the truth to say that the several parties which make up the community governed by the Royal Supremacy, accuse each other of errors which touch the very ground of Christian belief. No one denounces the Broad Church more vigorously than the High Church; and none abominate what they term "Sacerdotalism," meaning thereby the whole sacramental system, more thoroughly than the Broad Church and the Low Church. But the pleasure with which a Ritualist expresses his profound contempt and dislike of the episcopal bench stands by itself, a fruit of Anglicanism which no other cult has hitherto produced. But how have these internecine quarrels arisen? What support has the Church of England herself supplied to these several parties in her own formularies? Take one instance. A young candidate for the Anglican priesthood goes to be ordained, and in that rite—which, if he is good and sincere, makes the day on which it is received the most solemn day of his life—he hears his Bishop invoke the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity, and with hands laid upon his head utter the words: "Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office and Work of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the Imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful Dispenser of the Word of God and of His holy Sacraments; In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Here, then, is the whole sacramental system of the Church expressed, and its power conveyed to the young Priest in the very act of his ordination. He is surely authorized in believing all its consequences. Does Ritualism, as to doctrine, need any more adequate basis? Here is the root of one school.

Another candidate for the priesthood has been taught to regard the Thirty-nine Articles as the standard of faith, and also that the notion that divine gifts and powers are bestowed by the imposition of men's hands is popish and superstitious,

and he finds in the twenty-third Article, under the head of "ministering in the congregation," that "those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given to them in the Congregation, to call and send Ministers into the Lord's vineyard." That is, it will be observed to him, not Bishops merely, or as Bishops, but those who have public authority given to them in the congregation, though not Bishops, may ordain. Thus, the whole treasury of divine gifts which the first thought he received, the second is taught to disbelieve, since they are made an open question; and his other doctrinal sympathies lead him to deny the sacramental system as a whole. Can it be said that such a view has no support in Anglican formularies?

A third candidate, being a man of enlarged mind, puts together *both* documents, and draws the conclusion that since the person who gives ordination, and the gifts bestowed in it, are open questions in the Anglican Church, the number of questions which she considers to be closed is but few.

Is not this also a fair basis for the Broad Church or Latitudinarian school?

Are "the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies" fit teachers of divine truth? or is perpetual compromise the Anglican *articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiæ?* Looking now at the *system*, and not at the *men*, may we not fear that what mortals call "comprehension," immortals might term "dishonesty"?

For, having myself in past times wandered disconsolately to and fro in the blind alleys of this labyrinth; having learnt by private study, not by the teaching of my communion when a member of the Anglican Church, such doctrines as the Apostolical Succession, the Real Presence, the Adoration of Christ in that Presence, and many others; while I profoundly feel that the system is utterly dishonest, I feel also that any individual who takes either of these three lines may be sincere. He cannot help his mother being what she is; and it is long

before he suspects her, perhaps he never comes to the knowledge of her true character. But High Church, Low Church, and Broad Church have all footing in the Church of England. Those who made her formularies wished it to be so. Looking at government and doctrine together, we may say that she is a political Cerberus, with three heads, but one body—the heads, being all jointed on to the unity of the Royal Supremacy, can only bark and growl at each other, neither can devour and make an end of either; but if only a scent of the Catholic Church reaches the three heads, they bark at once in unison at the common enemy, and are ready together to rend it. It was to guard against this foe that Cerberus was compacted, and she knows her office.

But let us not confound the individuals with the system. Who but God alone is a judge in what degree nurture and education, and the variety of circumstances which make each man's life a separate sphere of action—a world of his own—may affect the moral judgment? Who can tell whether the man whose conduct seems to be inconsistent, may not yet, in his inmost mind, be following to the utmost the dictates of his conscience?—at least, what all can see in the actual Church of England presents some such remarkable spectacle as this. There are in her at least three great parties, whose first principles are in diametrical opposition; each claim her for themselves, and fight for her possession; and she has given to each many reasons to believe that she belongs to them, and that they are her faithful children. But all the time while this has been going on, during the last generation, there has been a vast revival of zeal and energy in all these parties. There has been a wonderful exhibition of liberality in restoring churches, in raising schools, and other charitable buildings and works, proceeding together with an utter spiritual division and antagonism of beliefs. And there is a second contrast, as much to be marked, which is the earnestness and devotion of individuals in all these several schools, in discharge of what they feel to be their duties, in the midst of their

differences with each other on the ground of their position, often accompanied with the most painful uncertainty as to what their sense of duty enjoins them to do.

Take one of these trials, such as are occurring any day. A Ritualistic church has been set up at great cost, with much zeal, amid the love of many hearts. A plentiful congregation attends it. In the eyes of all who so attend, those who minister in it are Priests, or they are nothing at all. If they are not Priests, their rites are a mere mummery: the Presence, in virtue of which all is done, is not there; the Master is absent. One of the other parties denounces their practices as unlawful. The matter is brought before the Judicial Committee, which is the organ of the Royal Supremacy. The Judicial Committee declares itself bound to judge, not what is and always has been the Catholic faith, but what is the "national settlement." According to the "national settlement," the very worship which the congregation loves and its ministers hope that they celebrate, is "a blasphemous fable, and dangerous deceit." The altar is declared to have been expressly abolished, and the table substituted for it in the Anglican ritual. Lord Penzance and the Judicial Committee denounce what the Eastern and Western liturgies unanimously proclaim as the central act of Christian worship. So her Majesty the Queen issues her definitive decree, according to the views of Lord Penzance and the Committee, by virtue of her Royal Supremacy. What becomes of the conscience of the ministers after this decision? They are as certain of what is the Catholic faith on the matter in question, as of any article in the Creed. Are they to follow the Catholic faith, or acquiesce in the "national settlement"? Such is the operation of the Royal Supremacy upon the Ritualistic system. Is it to be wondered at that they who wish to be Priests in a settlement, the very purpose of which was to abolish the priesthood, denounce the Bishops who are carrying that settlement into effect? Yet did not these very Bishops, in ordaining them, assert that they bestowed the very powers which they

are forbidding them to exercise? What was the forgiveness of sins conveyed by the imposition of their hands, if not authority to sit in the tribunal of penance? Yet the present Primate dismissed a Curate for doing that very thing; and the late Primate, when appealed to, justified the dismissal. This is only a sample. There is no end of these internal contradictions. How long will a kingdom divided against itself last, the kingship itself being a sheer imposture?

Section III.—Review of the Religious World outside the Catholic Church.

But the second treatise in this volume gives the positive proof for believing in a power, the operation of which extends over all times and climes from the day of Pentecost to the day of final judgment. The subject of the Holy Apostolic See of St. Peter leads to a slight review of things which surpass the reach, both as to time and place, of the Anglican Royal Supremacy. Passing beyond what is merely national, let us stretch our gaze more widely over the world. What is there outside Queen Victoria bestowing spiritual jurisdiction on her Bishops in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australia? What *was* there before this assumption? What *is* there now in the matter of spiritual jurisdiction and authority?

In the fifteen centuries which preceded Henry VIII.'s seizure of spiritual jurisdiction, the Church of God had appeared before the whole world as a body corporate, stretching by her episcopate, one and undivided, through all lands, both within and without the Roman empire, which was her first nursery-ground. Therein she grew amid persecution, sometimes intermitted in practice, never surrendered in principle, for two hundred and eighty-three years from the day of Pentecost to the peace of Constantine in A.D. 312. Assuredly, during that time, the State of imperial Rome—which thwarted her when it did not actively attack her—bestowed on her no mission, no jurisdiction. That

mission came forth full and unfettered from the mouth of our Lord, not to Kings and civil rulers of nations, but to Apostles, as in the words, "Go and make disciples all nations," and, "Behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world;" and to the Prince of the Apostles in the presence of his brethren, "Feed My sheep," for this is the fulfilment of the promise, "To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven." That glorious martyrdom of three hundred years won, by a miraculous perseverance, a foundation of independence for the Church which should never fail.

From the peace of Constantine to the middle of the eighth century, the Church went through a period in which the Roman Cæsars, acknowledging her as a divine kingdom of souls, independent of all civil power in her sacred rights, entered into alliance with her; bestowed upon her Bishops civil privileges; acknowledged in the chief of those Bishops the successor of Peter, the Bearer of the Keys, the Pastor of the Universal Flock. Many during those four centuries were the encroachments which Emperors, in their lust of power, and under the longings of despotism, made upon her freedom of action; but her spiritual jurisdiction they acknowledged even in their most flagrant attempts to influence or restrain its application. "From Constantine I.," says a great historian, "to Leo I., who reigned A.D. 457–474, and even to a later period, no one of the Emperors ventured directly to maintain that the supreme power of government and judgment in the Church belonged to the monarch, or that the Church was not independent and free in her domain, but subject to the temporal ruler. They even maintained in theory the autonomy of the religious and ecclesiastical sphere, if in practice they frequently violated it." *

Then the Christian kingdoms of the West began to form themselves and be consolidated, and one monarch arose of glorious name, great alike in action and in counsel, who,

* Hergenröther, Photius, vol. i. p. 109.

having by wisdom and valour created a vast realm over many nations, received from Pope Leo III. consecration to be Emperor of the Romans. The Pope and the Pope alone gave him this dignity; that is, gave to him, who was already King of the Franks, to be Emperor of the Romans; and that office so created was the seal of union between Church and State for seven hundred years. During all that time the spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope over the whole Church was acknowledged by every Christian kingdom in the West. It would be a fuller expression of the fact to say that these kingdoms had the acknowledgment of such jurisdiction set for their foundation-stone, inasmuch as they formed together a confederation of states which had a common spiritual Father in the Sovereign Pontiff, and the Roman Emperor was *ex-officio* the special guardian and advocate of the Roman Church, the special defender of the Bearer of the Keys, and of the international Christian unity.

But in the East as well as in the West, the independence of the Church's jurisdiction was acknowledged by that empire which the Church had not created but found in existence, receiving only its homage in the conversion of Constantine. We may take as summary proof the testimony of its greatest legislator. However disposed was Justinian to domination, his laws recognize with the utmost force and distinctness the supreme authority of St. Peter's successor, and he set his hand, in the year 536, to the formulary which the Greek Church presented to Pope Agapetus, the same which was presented to Pope Hormisdas, in the year 519. It was not till after that authority had been shown, in the creation of a Western empire—which the pride of the Byzantine monarchs conceived to be an interference with their claim to rule over the whole Roman world—that the spirit of schism became dominant, and enabled Photius to separate the Eastern from the Western Church. What the fruits of that schism were we shall presently see. Until it was fully engrained in their people, the Eastern Roman Emperors did not proceed so far

in their most shameful encroachments and acts of tyranny as to claim to give spiritual jurisdiction to the Church in their realm. They made the Patriarchs of Constantinople, as the city of their residence, to be superior to the elder sees of Alexandria and Antioch; they also deposed and slew and insulted them at times; they stopped short, until after the schism, of the claim to initiate their jurisdiction.

Such had been the testimony of fifteen centuries to the spiritual jurisdiction of the Church of God, when Henry VIII. came to the throne in one of the many realms which formed part of the great Christian unity under the Pastor of the Flock. It is requisite to bear it in mind in order to calculate the enormity of his crime, as well as the absurdity of his pretension, in making himself head of the Church in his individual realm, and fastening Christian Bishops as vassals to a temporal throne. They inaugurated by that act a base subjection unknown to Catholics before them. The Church had willingly acknowledged the acceptance from the State of temporal privileges or of temporal goods; but where was the Catholic Bishop, up to that time, who ever knelt before a King or Queen with the servile words, "I acknowledge that I hold the said bishopric, as well the spiritualities as the temporalities thereof, only of your Majesty"? Truly it was beseeming that adultery and incest should be the motives on the part of the civil ruler which led him to usher in such a spiritual regimen.

But the world has progressed in iniquity and spoliation of sacred rights and sacred things since the time of Henry. The ruin of religious houses, the persecution of religious communities, which he began, have been imitated far and wide in other lands. We may leave this consideration, and pass to the condition of the Greek Church since it has been divided from the unity of the Church and the supreme authority of St. Peter's See, which it acknowledged for so many centuries.

I. It is in the Church of Constantinople—the rise of whose Bishop, from the condition of a Suffragan under the Arch-

bishop of Heraclea to the crowning rank of a quasi-Pope over the Eastern Church, with the assumption of the title Ecumenical Patriarch, was due simply to its being the residence of the Eastern Roman Emperors—it is in this Church, after the schism of Photius had been consummated, that we find the earliest school of king-worship, carried in the end to an almost abject servitude. Here again I may use the testimony of the learned historian above cited:

"If even the idea of the independence of ecclesiastical life here and there still found an expression, yet it passed completely into the background, not only in most writers, but in actual practice. The later Greeks lost the consciousness of the fact to what a degree they, who were constantly accusing the Latins of falling away from the tradition of the Fathers, and thereby from the true doctrine, had seceded in this from the doctrine handed down by the old Church, and from the spirit of their great Fathers. The more bitterly the Papal Primacy was opposed, the more zealously was the old king-worship fostered. They asserted in its defence that the Ecumenical Synods had their very name from the fact that the Emperors, as rulers of the world, commanded all Bishops to assemble; that the Emperor presided over them; that he gave the force of law to their decrees; that he had to watch over, to conduct, to ratify everything in the Church; that he possessed all episcopal privileges, with the exception of the sacred functions; for which the old title of Pontifex Maximus, as well as the anointing of the Emperor and his dignity as God's anointed, served for proof. The doctrinal authority of the Emperor is likewise deduced from this anointing; and thereupon the principle set forth, 'the Imperial Supremacy can do anything.'* The Emperor's care extends over both body and soul; that of the Patriarch, only over the soul. To the Emperor belongs the right of legislation, and the right of judging, the division and circumscription of ecclesiastical

* Ἡ βασιλικὴ ἐξουσία πάντα δύναται ποιεῖν.—Balsamon.

provinces, the determining the rank of individual Churches. No contest about investiture was possible in the Greek empire; the Emperor, as later the Sultan also, gave to the new Patriarch the pastoral staff as sign of the dignity conferred upon him by God through the Emperor's hand. The words he used were, 'The Holy Trinity promotes thee to be Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Ecumenical Patriarch, through the Royal power given to us by Him.' * If the Emperor did not directly nominate the Patriarch, he indicated previously to the electors the candidate he preferred; if an election took place, the Bishops who were resident in the city, who must be at least twelve in number, assembled in the Church of the Apostles to propose to the Emperor three suitable ecclesiastics, out of whom he named one. This one, after the declaration of his acceptance, was brought before the Emperor to receive institution from him, whereupon the new Patriarch betook himself on horseback to Sancta Sophia, where his enthronement and consecration took place by the Archbishop of Heraclea. But the arbitrary depositions of Patriarchs became more and more frequent; the last vestige of ecclesiastical freedom was lost. Imperial despotism, which suppressed every motion of freedom, became more and more the scourge and the source of ever-increasing dishonour to the Church, which had accustomed itself to consider this as the normal and original institution.

"Only too true is what Gregory IX. wrote in 1232 to Germanus II., 'when the Church of the Greeks divided herself from the unity of the Roman chair, she lost at once the privilege of ecclesiastical freedom. She, who had been free, became the handmaid of the temporal power, so that, by the just judgment of God, she who had refused to recognize the divine primacy in Peter, fell, against her will, under secular dominion.'" †

* Ἡ ἁγία Τριὰς διὰ τῆς παρ' αὐτῆς δωρηθείσης ἡμῖν βασιλείας προβάλλεταί σε ἀρχιεπίσκοπον ΚΠεως νέας Ῥώμης καὶ οἰκουμενικὸν πατριάρχην.

† Hergenröther, Photius, vol. iii., pp. 841–3.

The Popes for five hundred years warred in vain, until the end of schism was reached in that impenitent and miserable people whose cry was, "Rather the turban than the tiara!" Then at length the scimitar of Mahomet came down on the devoted city, after the ruin and slaughter of whose citizens the Ecumenical Patriarch received his pastoral staff from the Khalif of the false prophet. Mahomet II., says Finlay, "united all the dissevered members of the orthodox Church under a central authority, over which he exercised a direct control as its real head. He was accepted as the temporal head of the orthodox Church because he was regarded as its protector against Catholicism. By this insidious gift, the Sultan purchased the subservience of the Greeks, and for the two succeeding centuries his successors were the acknowledged defenders of the orthodox against the pretensions of the Popes." "He selected Gennadios as the new orthodox Patriarch, and made use of him as an instrument to obtain for himself, though a Mohammedan Prince, the ancient personal position of the Byzantine sovereigns as protector of the orthodox Church and master of the Greek hierarchy. The Sultans never involved themselves in ecclesiastical disputes. The contempt which the Mussulmans then entertained for all Christians saved them from this folly; to them the orthodox and the Catholic were equally distant from the light of truth." "It is generally said that, in virtue of the privileges conceded by Mohammed II. to the Greek Church, the Patriarch of Constantinople is elected by an assembly composed of Greek Bishops who happen to be officially resident at the seat of the Patriarchate, joined to a certain number of the neighbouring clergy, under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Heraclea. But the truth is, that the Patriarch of Constantinople is appointed by the Sultan pretty much in the same way as the Archbishop of Canterbury is appointed by the sovereign of England. Mohammed II., after naming Gennadios Patriarch, wished him to be instituted in his ecclesiastical dignity according to the ancient ceremonial of the Church, in order to

prevent the election producing new dissensions. The great object of the Sultan was to re-establish the Patriarchate in such a manner as to give it the greatest influence over the minds of the whole body of the orthodox clergy and laity. The Patriarch Gennadios and the Bishops who survived the taking of Constantinople were supported by the Othoman Government in their exertions to restore the whole fabric of the Eastern Church, in outward form as well as in religious doctrine, to its condition before the Council of Florence in 1439. The Synods and Councils of the Greek Church, since the taking of Constantinople, have been tolerated by the Sublime Porte only so far as they facilitated administrative measures, without conferring any independent influence on the Greek clergy. The rescript of the Sultan has always been necessary to authorize a Bishop to exercise his ecclesiastical functions in the see to which he has been elected. Waddington says the words of the barat of the Sultan were, 'I command you to go and reside as Bishop at (Athens), according to the ancient custom, and to the vain ceremonies of the inhabitants.' The Mohammedan sovereign, as master of the orthodox Church, retained in his own hands the unlimited power of deposing both Patriarchs and Bishops. The absolute power of condemning every Greek ecclesiastic, whether Patriarch, Monk, or Parish Priest, to exile or death was a prerogative of the Sultan, which was never doubted." *

But what good is there in dwelling upon the infinite number of degradations and cruelties which that schismatical episcopate has since undergone during more than four centuries? The taint of simony has penetrated every vein of its body. We should heartily pity, if we were not forced to despise at each step.

"Non ragioniam di lor, ma guarda e passa."

Enough has been said to show at what cost Constantinople

* Finlay, Greece under Othoman and Venetian Domination, pp. 130, 137, 138.

denied the Primacy of Rome; and how, after receiving her authority by her own choice from the Royal power of her own Emperor, she was reduced to accept it from the hand of her chief enemy, the enemy likewise of the Christian faith and name. But she has had a daughter Church, the course of whose history is so full of instruction in its bearing on our subject, that we must give an extract from it.*

II. "The Byzantine hierarchy of the four Eastern Patriarchates was no doubt an organization of imperial origin, portending from the first the development of a claim of State Supremacy in the affairs of the Church. The city of Constantinople itself was a creation of the Emperors; and the only title of its Bishops to be raised above those of Heraclea, and even above the Apostolic Sees of Alexandria and Antioch, was this, that Constantinople was the civil capital—a new Rome; a new Rome, not of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and of their local successors on the spot of their martyrdom and burial, but a new Rome of the Christian Emperors only.

"Nevertheless, the traditions of the old Apostolic Catholicism were not at once dishonoured or infringed by the Byzantine Emperors, still less by all their clergy: and when Missionary Bishops from Constantinople came to be Metropolitans or Bishops of sees outside of the Byzantine empire, this very fact threw the inherent defect of the Byzantine Church into the background, and the Apostolic character of the Missionary alone remained both in their own consciences, and in the eyes of their disciples and flocks.

* I take the following account from the life of the Patriarch Nicon, by W. Palmer, M.A. (vol. iv. Preface). In an age when so many write for money or for fame, it may be allowed to point to a work carried through six large volumes with a vast expenditure of learning and patience in pure devotion to a principle embodied in the life of a man. It is the homage paid by one who has followed truth himself at every cost, to another who suffered deposition from high rank, imprisonment, and worldly loss unto his death, for what he believed to be the cause of God's Church. But the homage to the man subserves a great religious and political lesson—that ecclesiastical liberty is not to be preserved in a state of schism. (Since these words were written we have lost the noble spirit who wrote the life of Nicon.)

"Thus, the Slavonians generally received the faith without any idea of a preponderating or supreme authority attaching to Emperors or Princes. Nor was it easy for such an idea to grow up among them, so long as not only their minor nationalities were divided, but even in one and the same nationality —as in the Russian—there continued to be a number of separate and independent sovereignties or principalities." *

"If we look back to the beginning of Christianity in Russia, we see at first, during two centuries and a half (A.D. 988–1250), a hierarchy consisting of a single Metropolitan with his Bishops, subject canonically to the Patriarch of Constantinople, but, owing to local circumstances, much more independent of the Russian Princes than their superior the Patriarch was of the Byzantine Emperor. Of twenty-three Metropolitans who sat during that time, eighteen were Greeks and only five native Russians. During that time, we see the Primate and the Bishops in the attitude first of Missionaries, then of Pastors and Teachers, instructing, rebuking, and reconciling the Russian Princes, who, on the other hand, reverence them, and seek from them enlightenment and support. Somewhat later (A.D. 1327), the Prince of Moscow requests the Metropolitan Peter, a Volhynian by birth, to transfer his residence from Vladimir to the rising city of Moscow; and this Primate and his successors, besides mediating between their Christian flocks and the Tartars, greatly assist the Grand-Princes of Moscow to obtain a suzerainty over the other Grand-Princes still existing in Eastern Russia. In fact, one may say that it was mainly through them that all Eastern Russia was gradually united into one empire, and the power concentrated in a single autocratic ruler.

"In pursuing or seconding this policy, the Primates were clearly influenced by good and patriotic motives, whatever may have been the motives of the Princes of Moscow.

"From A.D. 1250 to 1452, that is, to the election of the Metropolitan Jonah (the last who held together as one eccle-

* pp. ix., x.

siastical province both Western and Eastern Russia), of eight Metropolitans only two—Theognost, the successor of the Metropolitan Peter, and the second who resided at Moscow (A.D. 1328–1353), and Photius, who sat from 1410 to 1432—were Greeks. So the hierarchy had become more national, and its dependence on Constantinople less sensible. In earlier times, the form of elections prescribed by the Canons, and partly followed by custom, appears to have been this, that the Russian Bishops should send three names to the Patriarch of Constantinople, and that the Patriarch should choose one; but more commonly the Patriarch nominated directly, or confirmed and consecrated some native Russian sent to him as elected. But after A.D. 1328, it became the ordinary practice for the Russian Bishops to elect their own Primate, though he was still confirmed by the Patriarch of Constantinople." *

"Under the Grand-Prince John III., Basiliewich, the Metropolitan of Moscow, Philip I., was elected by the local Synod. From those times we have *the order of the appointment of a Metropolitan of all Russia*, according to which the Synod of the Bishops elected, but the Grand-Prince gave to the Metropolitan, after his consecration, the staff, as a symbol of spiritual authority—an act capable of a double sense; the orthodox sense is given by Simeon of Thessalonica, who writes that the Emperor himself alone gives the pastoral staff to the Patriarch, because he wishes to honour the Church, implying also at the same time that he personally accepts affectionately this individual now consecrated as his own Pastor, whom God has chosen for him." †

"So, from the reign of John III. (A.D. 1462–1505), there begins a new phase (A.D. 1462–1589) for the Russian or Muscovite hierarchy. During this time, the Metropolitans of Moscow and all Russia—of whom, from Theodosius the first of them to Dionysius the last, there were in 127 years fourteen—were *de facto*, but not *de jure*, independent of the chair of Constantinople.

* pp. xxiv., xxv. † p. xxvi.

"In the mean time, while the Grand-Princes of Moscow were gradually establishing a sort of Chinese absolutism, the very opposite to that anarchy which had prevailed when there were many Sovereign Princes in Russia, the spiritual power of the clergy became more and more concentrated in the Primate. In consequence of the vast extent of the dioceses, the Canons requiring the Bishops 'to meet frequently in Synods, twice a year, or at least once,' had never been observed in Russia; but it became the custom for the Bishops to leave with the Metropolitan each his written assent to all that the Metropolitan might do with the advice of such Bishops as were near him, provided only that it was not contrary to the faith or to the Canons. This of itself made the government of the Church in practice much more monarchical than it ought to have been; and it deprived both the Metropolitan and the Bishops subject to him of that mutual benefit which they might have had from habitually conferring and acting together; and the Bishops in like manner had too little union with their clergy. And in proportion as the secular absolutism of the Grand-Prince grew and developed, the Metropolitan, who lived in his capital, and did everything in concert with him, became more and more of a lord over the inferior Bishops, something of the secular authority of the Grand-Prince blending with his own spiritual Primacy.

"In this way, contrary to the letter and the spirit of the Canons, the Metropolitan of Moscow and Great Russia became not only separated from his superior, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and as it were autocephalous, but also more or less separated from his brethren the other Bishops, and isolated by the undue pre-eminence to which he was raised by his close union with the Grand-Prince. And those circumstances, which seemed only to enhance and exaggerate his power, so long as he was in agreement with the Grand-Prince, were eventually productive of envy in others and of weakness in himself, rendering his fall certain whenever there should come a change in his relations to the Grand-Prince, and to

the secular government. And when in A.D. 1589, from being simply Metropolitan, the Primate of Great Russia became Patriarch of Moscow, with a titular hierarchy of three degrees —Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops—under him, this pomp of new titles signified rather the close approach of danger than any real increase of honour or power. The new titles were as the garlands and trappings of a victim already destined to be sacrificed.

"But it was not only the Primate who was thus gradually weakened by undue exaltation and isolation from his brethren, but the Bishops also, the clergy, and the whole Church; the rights of all the clergy, and the natural and just liberties of the Christian people, were endangered by the want of common counsel and action between the Primate and the Bishops, and by the delegation in too great a degree to the Primate alone of the care and duty of representing and defending the rights and liberties of all, while he was exposed, without their support, to all the influences concentrated about the civil ruler.

"In fact, not the Grand-Princes only, but all the nobles, began to envy the clergy the possession of those extensive properties and privileges, which had so much increased during the time of the Tartar domination; and the nobles assisted the Crown to exaggerate its autocratic power, in order that they too might abuse that power for their own covetousness and injustice, not only towards the poorer laity, but especially towards that order which claimed immunity from the civil jurisdiction, and which more or less checked their violent and oppressive government of the people. There grew up in Russia, as well as in the West of Europe, in the highest classes and in the Government itself as such, a spirit which Michaelofsky, in writing of the seventeenth century, calls 'the spirit of the age,' tending towards the secularization of Church property, and the subjection of the spiritual authority to the State; that is, a tendency towards materialism and apostasy, though the outward forms of Russian life were still very religious.

"If we go on to the seventeenth century, we see a sort of dualism—the whole empire, as it is written in the Travels of the Patriarch Macarius of Antioch, 'governed absolutely by only two men, the Tsar and the Patriarch.' If we examine more closely this dualism, taking it as it existed before A.D. 1652, we see in the customary modes of procedure a clear recognition of two distinct and separate authorities—the one spiritual and the other secular. The Tsar, no doubt, did nearly what he pleased in external matters, but he did it through the Canonical Primate. Whether it were to choose a new Bishop or Archimandrite, to create a new see or raise the titular rank of an old one, to found a monastery, to give pontifical ornaments to an Archimandrite, or to levy contributions of men, money, corn, and service on the property of the Bishops and monasteries, the Tsar conferred first with the Primate, and the Primate was generally ready to comply with the wishes of the Tsar, and to do for him or bless him to do what was proposed. And the Tsar, on the other hand, was not, generally speaking, likely to wish or propose anything so unusual, irregular, or oppressive as to provoke a refusal. Certainly there were occasions when the Muscovite Grand-Princes or Tsars forced the Metropolitan to submit to some enormity, and deposed and even murdered those who resisted them; but such acts were exceptional, and, as soon as the moment had passed, they were condemned as such both by public opinion and the Tsars themselves.

"But at length some acts, which had been at first only exceptional and abusive, came to be more or less customary. The Tsar nominated directly to spiritual dignities and offices, and even sanctioned a new code of laws, by which not only was a part of the Church property appropriated by the State, but all the peasants and other people of the Church, and the clergy themselves, with the single and that not consistent exception of the Patriarch, were placed for civil causes under the jurisdiction of the secular courts. The Tsar laid imposts too directly on the clergy and their property. This was the

state of things when the young Tsar Alexis Michaelovich, in A.D. 1652, insisted on making Nicon Patriarch.

"Nicon, after first refusing, demanded, as a condition of his accepting the patriarchate, a promise and vow from the Tsar and his Synclete, as in the presence of God, that they would obey him in spiritual matters, and suffer him to correct abuses, and to govern the Church according to the Canons; and they gave him the promise he demanded." *

But, after three years, "the spirit of the age" became too strong for Nicon. The hatred and jealousy of the nobles turned the wavering Tsar against his former friend. Nicon, in fact, was fighting in a local Church, severed from Catholic unity, the battle of St. Thomas of Canterbury. As the author just quoted observes, "His position was intrinsically a false one, vitiated not only by certain 'confirmations' of Russian history, but also by the traditions of the Eastern schism, as such, from its very beginning." †

Nicon, instead of having behind him a sure place of refuge in the rock of Peter, had only his mother of Constantinople; instead of the Bearer of the Keys, against whom the gates of hell shall not prevail, he had the Ecumenical Patriarch, receiving his pastoral staff from the Grand Turk. Nicon was deposed in a Synod attended by two of the four Eastern Patriarchs, and ratified by them all. The alms of the Tsar and the hope of his patronage were stronger in their breasts than the duty of maintaining their Church's original prerogatives. Mr. Palmer sums up the situation thus: "The Patriarch Nicon sought to maintain the traditional and publicly recognized relations of the spiritual and the temporal power in Russia. But Nicon fell. He said virtually to the Tsar Alexis, and to the civil ruler, whoever he might be—to the State, 'If you think that you can do without me, that you can be Apostle as well as Cæsar, be so. Do yourself, or try to do, what you please; but I will not be your vicar and instrument for that. I belong not to you, but to God, and I must be

* pp. xxviii.—xxxii. † p. xxxiv.

faithful to Him.' The boyars thereupon cried out, 'He has resigned. Take him at his word, and do without him. Nay, punish him also as a criminal, and make it impossible for him to return to the chair.' The Tsar did so, and he had no difficulty in finding a man ready and willing to be the vicar and instrument of his spiritual supremacy; and to this change the whole Muscovite episcopacy and clergy submitted; and the Eastern Patriarchs, too, for the sake of the Tsar's alms, confirmed afterwards what had been done. The outward form of the hierarchy and of the Church, after it had been thus nationalized and enslaved to the State, remained at first the same as before, but the true life and spirit were gone." *

Forty years after Nicon's heroic death, when he had suffered with unbroken spirit deposition and imprisonment during fifteen years, from 1666 to 1681, the conclusion from the premises of the Tsar Alexis was drawn by the hand of his son, the Tsar Peter. In the year 1700, Adrian, last of the Patriarchs of Moscow, died, and Peter, by an oukaz, appointed "an Exarch, Guardian, and Administrator of the most holy patriarchal chair." † Having kept the chair vacant for twenty years, "he thought good, in the year 1720–21, to enact a new ecclesiastical constitution, and created, instead of the former Patriarchs, a new collegium under himself, exactly on the pattern of the Senate and other Colleges into which he had divided the various departments of the State. He had ordered a creature of his own, Theophanes Prokopovich, whom he had made a Bishop, to prepare an organic statute, containing within itself, as in embryo, a Spiritual College to exercise the Tsar's ecclesiastical supremacy, instead of any personal vicegerent. He preferred a college to an individual as his instrument for various reasons, but most of all because, so long as a personal Primacy of one Bishop and the former name of Patriarch were retained, though the Primate and all the Bishops had submitted themselves to the Tsar's supremacy,

* pp. xlviii., xlix.

† Palmer, Nicon, vol. vi. p. 1605.

there was always, or at least to his suspicious mind there seemed to be always, a possibility of the old spirit of Apostolic independence returning to the dead form which it had once inhabited. It was desirable, therefore, to get rid even of this dead form, and to substitute for it, not only some one *Bishop*, who was plainly a mere commissioner, and not a *Canonical Primate;* nor even a College of Bishops, who might still cling to old-fashioned ideas, and claim, if not for a Canonical Primate, yet at least for the episcopate itself as one whole, a divine and concurrent authority; but a new Committee of Delegates, in which not only should there be no appearance of a personal Primate, but Bishops should only be on a par with Presbyters and outnumbered by them, if it so pleased the Tsar, in any proportion that might happen; for instance, so as to be to the Presbyters in the proportion of only one to three.

"This college Peter jocosely called his *Patriarch*. Some contemporaries have handed down this scrap of conversation between the Tsar and his tool. Peter asked Theophanes, 'Will our *Patriarch* be finished soon?' Theophanes answered, 'Yes, soon; I am just putting the last stitches into his gown.' And Peter rejoined, 'I have the mitre for him all ready.'

"At length," says our author, "the last stitches of the gown of the puppet-Patriarch having been put in, Theophanes presented him to the Tsar, who heard it read through, and, after making some few alterations and additions of his own, approved it, and ordered that it should be read in the Senate in presence also of six Bishops who were then at Petersburg."

This "Spiritual Regulation" "his most sacred Majesty the Tsar" having ordered to be read in the Senate, on the 23rd of February, 1720, it was subscribed by the Bishops and Archimandrites, and in another column opposite to them by all the Senators, and lastly by the Emperor himself, who then caused it to be subscribed by all those Bishops and

chief Archimandrites of the kingdom who were not then present.*

A year after the Spiritual Regulation had been thus subscribed, A.D. 1721, Peter called into being the Spiritual College by oukaz, after this fashion:

"By the grace of God, we, Peter the First, Tsar and Autocrat of all Russia, etc. Among our many cares, according to the duty of the power given us by God, for the reformation of our nation, and of the other realms subject to us, casting our eye also on the spiritual order, and observing in it great disorder and great insufficiency in the management of its affairs, we conceived in our conscience a not unreasonable fear lest we should appear ungrateful to the Most High if, after having obtained from Him such great successes in the reformation both of the military and the civil orders, we should neglect the reformation of the spiritual order; and lest, when the impartial Judge shall require of us an account of so great a charge by Him committed to us, we should be without an answer. We therefore, after the example of former religious Kings,† both in the Old and in the New Testament, having taken upon us the care of the reformation of the spiritual order, and not seeing any better means towards that end than a Collegiate government (because the government of a single person is not exempt from passions, and, besides that, the power is not hereditary, and so they are the more negligent in it), we institute a Spiritual College, that is, a Spiritual Collegiate (or Synodal) government, which, in conformity to the

* For full information as to this masterpiece of Peter, which moved the admiration of Voltaire, see Mr. Palmer's sixth volume, which gives an English translation, and Father Tondini's work, which gives the original Russian with another Latin original, and a French translation.

† See the remarkable similarity with the thirty-seventh Anglican Article, which alleges for the Royal Supremacy "that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in Holy Scriptures by God Himself." Both documents are prudently silent as to the names of these "godly Princes" and "religious Kings, both in the Old and New Testament." As to the New Testament, could they have been Herod the Great, or Herod the Fox, or Herod who slew St. James and cast St. Peter in prison? or, again, the Emperors Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, and Domitian?—for these are all to whom the New Testament refers.

Reglament here following, is to direct all spiritual affairs in the Church of all Russia. And we command all our faithful subjects of every order, spiritual and temporal, to regard this as a government having weight and force; and to seek from it the supreme direction, resolution, and determination of spiritual matters; and to be content with its definitive judgment, and to obey its orders (its oukazes) in everything, on pain of severe punishment for any opposition or disobedience, as in the case of *the other* Colleges.

"This College, moreover, must hereafter complete its Reglament with such additional rules as the various matters which may arise shall require. However, the Spiritual College must not do this without our consent (and approval).

"We appoint that there be in this Spiritual College the members here named, viz., one President, two Vice-Presidents, four Counsellors, and four Assessors.

"And since it is mentioned in this Reglament, in part I., points vii. and viii., that the President is to be subject to the judgment of his brethren, that is, of the same College, if he does anything notably amiss, we ordain that he shall have a single vote on a par with the rest.

"Further, all the members of this College must, at entering on their office, take an oath or promise before the holy Gospel, according to the annexed form. Given at Petersburg, the 25th day of January, A.D. 1721." *

Under this is the subscription of his Majesty the Tsar with his own hand: "Peter."

The words of this oath were the same with those taken by the parallel College of the Senate, substituting *Church* for *State*, and the like; but the following clause was "a special addition for the benefit of the clergy, to cut up by the roots all idea of a dualism of authorities:" † "Moreover, I acknowledge upon oath that our most gracious sovereign, the monarch of all Russia himself, is the supreme judge of the Spiritual College."

* Nicon's Life, vol. vi. p. 1638. † Ibid. p. 1641.

His Majesty also appointed that the Spiritual College should be of equal dignity with the Senate, and that in the Church proclamations, *i.e.* those made in the Church services, it should be commemorated as "The Most Holy Governing Synod."*

"There was still wanting only the crown, and this was soon put on. Prudently distrustful of all the world, his own favourites included, Peter had attached to the Governing Senate, in quality of the *Tsar's Eye*, a man whom he trusted. Fifteen days later he made an oukaz that 'a man of resolution, chosen from among the officers,' should be similarly attached to the Synod, with the title of *Ober-Prokuror of the Most Holy Governing Synod.*"† "The Ober-Prokuror," says the Tsar, "is by his charge set like as it were our eye and agent for the affairs of the State. He is not subject to the judgment of any one whatsoever, except our own."‡

What the Tsar Peter did in all this was, first, he kept the Patriarchal See vacant for twenty years. Then he made his tool, the creature-Bishop Theophanes, draw up a new ecclesiastical constitution in the dress of a puppet-Patriarch, which he forced his clergy and nobles to accept. Thirdly, he called into action this constitution which clergy and nobles had accepted, and he appointed a perpetual Board of Delegates, who were to make up together *his* Patriarch. Fourthly, he subjected this Board of Delegates absolutely to himself, as its "Supreme Judge," whereas he and his predecessors had not been supreme judges of the Patriarchs, or of the Metropolitans who preceded them. Fifthly, by means of this perpetual Board of Delegates he subjected the whole Church of Russia to its Tsar, as completely as *any other* college, to use his own expression, or department of the State. But so great was his suspicion of any lurking ecclesiastical spirit, any going back to the ancient Canons, that he was not satisfied without adding an officer, whom he called the Tsar's eye, who was to sit at this Board of Delegates, not as one of

* Nicon's Life, vol. vi. p. 1638. † Ibid. p. 1649. ‡ Ibid. p. 1683.

them, but to watch and regulate all their proceedings, to convey, in fact, to them by a perpetual presence, the will of the "Supreme Judge," the Tsar; to whom alone the Tsar's eye himself was subject, and to whom alone he reported all that he deemed it necessary to report.

Under this Board of Delegates—which by a refinement of hypocrisy, worthy of the man who ordered his creature-Bishop "to stitch up" a Patriarch, is styled, "the Most Holy Governing Synod"—the Church of Russia has been ruled by its Tsars for more than a hundred and fifty years. Catherine I. the Lithuanian peasant, from a concubine made a Tsaritza, and Catherine II. the husband-murderer and friend of Voltaire, have been its "Supreme Judges." The Delegates sit at a board, above which a vacant chair indicates the throne of the Patriarch, but which is in fact filled by an invisible presence, lying upon the minds and hearts of all the Delegates; the presence of one who deputes his Ober-Procuror to order all that this Board of Delegates does, even to the meting out for them their pens and paper. Everything, great or small, which takes place in the Russian Church, the whole administration of its so-called Bishops, as well as the limits within which they perform them, are under the jurisdiction of this court. The ancient jurisdiction of the Patriarch and of the sees subject to him is completely replaced by it, which is itself just as much a secular institution as the Senate with which it ranks equal and runs in parallel lines. Supposing that schism had not extinguished the original jurisdiction which had descended to the Patriarch from the Metropolitan of Kief, being derived in the first instance from the see of Constantinople, this court has effectually changed it for a jurisdiction of the State, which is of the earth earthy. "In the government of the Church, the *autocratic power* acts *through* the Most Holy Governing Synod instituted by it."* When the province of Georgia fell under Russian dominion, its autonomous episco-

* Maliutin's Code of the Laws of the Russian Empire, quoted by Mr. Palmer Life of Nicon, vol. vi. Appendix, p. 72.

pate was at once subjected to the "Most Holy Governing Synod," and its Bishops became, like their Russian brethren, the mere functionaries of this board, which portends the future lot of the Greek Bishops, who may become subject to the Tsar. Perhaps the Ecumenical Patriarch will finally evaporate in a member of this board. For it must be admitted that men bearing the titles of Metropolitans, whether of Moscow, Petersburg, Novgorod, or what not, but who are no more Metropolitans than the Synod is "most holy," have been found through successive generations to sit at this board. The race of Theophanes Prokopovich has never wanted heirs. And all this is done not with a sham episcopate recoined in debased metal by a Cranmer or a Parker, but by real Bishops, of an unquestioned priesthood, as to the validity of whose orders there is no doubt.

Of Gerasimus, Patriarch of Constantinople from 1321 to 1324, the historian Nicephorus wrote: "He had never touched Grecian culture with the tip of his finger; but, through ignorance and general boorishness, was ever obsequious to imperial fancies. It is for such purpose that Emperors choose men of this sort for such-like rule, that they may readily bow the neck to their commands, as if they were beasts of burden, and have no will against them in anything."* It is not, however, culture or learning which will save men from this degradation.

Two years before the Tsar Peter framed this new constitution for his Church, he had tortured to death on the rack in his presence his son and heir, the Tsarevitch Alexis, after a mock trial, in which he had frightened his clergy and nobles into pronouncing him guilty of death. Thus the Russian and the English Church-reforming monarchs stand upon similar pedestals of infamy: the one the child-murderer, the other the wife-murderer; the one making his concubine a Tsaritza, the other making the sister

* Nicephorus Gregoras, historian of the fourteenth century, quoted by Hergenröther, Photius, iii. 841.

of a former victim his concubine. Are not these most emphatic warnings of Providence against the ecclesiastical systems of which they are the respective parents? Again, one is reminded of Tertullian's words, "Every sort of thing must necessarily revert to its original for its classification." Are the Tsar Peter and Henry VIII. fit founders of ecclesiastical constitutions? or Elizabeth and Catherine II. fit judges of Christian doctrine?

This, then, is the actual state of that Eastern communion in its two branches, the Bishops of the Turkish and the Bishops of the Russian empire. At the moment of the schism brought about by Photius, they were probably as numerous as the Bishops of the West. Certainly they held the most famous seats of ancient civilization, and thought themselves far superior in learning to the Bishops who ruled semi-barbarous peoples slowly advancing into Christian culture. Their history of eight hundred years has been one long decline; their learning has perished; their doctrine has become fossilized; their episcopal succession desecrated by simony. To one only bright spot they could point, the rise of a mighty empire, ecclesiastical daughter of their Ecumenical Patriarch, destined to avenge their woes upon the Moslem oppressor. But, behold, they who were rebellious and haughty to the see of Peter have crouched before their own Princes, selling the gifts of the Holy Ghost for a piece of bread. When their Princes were Mohammedans, they scrupled not to receive the pastoral staff from their hands; when they were Christians, they yielded up to them the most sacred rights, handed down to them in unbroken descent from the ancient Councils and Canons which they profess to revere. Such is the fruit of the schism of Photius; such the reward of those who, in rejecting the Council of Florence, after their Patriarch and their Prince had accepted it, finally withdrew their obedience from the see of Peter, which their Fathers had for so many centuries acknowledged. Truly, their prayer has been granted to them—"the turban rather than the

tiara;" and they who turned from Peter, Prince of the Apostles, found instead, Peter the Tsar stitching for them *his* patriarch.

Thus, the false principle which worked in the Church of Constantinople from the beginning, in that it sought to be exalted on the ground of its rank as new Rome, the new Rome of the Christian Emperor, against the Rome of St. Peter and St. Paul, has, in the course of fifteen hundred years, spread its taint to the corruption of the whole body. The original Church receives its jurisdiction from the infidel; the daughter Church has suffered the Tsar to usurp it. And as Bishops constituted and led the four great heresies, the Arian, the Donatist, the Nestorian, and the Monothelite, which desolated the Church in the time of the First Seven Councils, so Bishops of unquestioned order and descent make up the schism which during four centuries panted for existence under the Turk, or still glories in the shame of being governed by a Tsar. So little is the Christian episcopate a preservative against schism, or a guardian of doctrine, or a champion of that intrinsic freedom which is so precious an inheritance of the Church, unless it be in indivisible union with its head, with Peter, who sits and rules in the Apostolic See.

No doctrinal notion is more signally refuted by every page of the Church's history than the notion that the diocesan Bishop's authority, of and by itself, is a guarantee either of doctrine or of discipline. On the other hand, our Lord promised Peter that the gates of hell should not prevail against him, and He promised the Apostolic College that He would be with them for ever. In accordance with which twofold promise we see the whole course of history bearing witness to a twofold fact, that nothing is more fallible than the individual Bishop, nothing so impregnable as the undivided episcopate, of which Peter alone is the bond.

III. But to complete our review of what at the present day claims to be Christian and is not Roman, we must glance at those religious communities which are the direct result of the

schism of the sixteenth century, and of which much the larger part is not governed even by those calling themselves Bishops.

It would be difficult to give a complete catalogue even of the names of these communities. The most important are the Luthero-Calvinists in Prussia and Germany, the Lutheran State Church in Sweden, the Lutheran State Church in Denmark, the French Calvinists, the Swiss Zwinglians, the three Presbyterian communities in Scotland—viz., the Established Kirk, the Free Kirk, and the United Presbyterians—the Presbyterians in Ireland, the Presbyterians and Methodists in England. Then there are the Presbyterians and Methodists in the United States, with their various branches, and a host of minor sects both in the United Kingdom and in America. Certainly that is not the least instructive page in Whitaker's Almanac for 1879, which records that "places of meeting for religious worship in England and Wales have been certified to the Registrar-General on behalf of persons described as" belonging to one hundred and sixty-three different religious sects. The thought which before all dwells upon my mind when I read this list, is that three hundred and sixty-five years ago the ancestors of the men who form all these sects dwelt together in one spiritual body, descending through fifteen centuries in unbroken line from the Apostles and from Christ. They are now hopelessly estranged from each other, divided in doctrine, divided in communion; they have neither one mind nor one heart. In the course of the three centuries and a half which have elapsed since they came into being, they have incessantly wrangled and struggled with each other, sparing, so far as they came into contact, no species of mutual persecution, and embracing every possible vagary of teaching in one or other sect. They profess to have in the same Holy Scriptures a common standard of doctrine, and they interpret this common standard in as many different and discordant practices as their number denotes. If any man of another religion, say a Mohammedan, a Hindoo, or a Buddhist, or any Western outsider, such as a Huxley, a

Tyndal, or a Darwin, were to consider these sects as Christianity, would he not be entitled to draw the conclusion that whatever else was true and whatever else was false in the world, Christianity had expired in an impotent derangement of thought and paralytic incompetence for action? Looking at it as society, it would seem to them to be collapse; looking at it as doctrine, it would seem to be contradiction. Or if the riches and social rank and influence of those who are comprised in the Church of England were to draw the regard of such minds away for a moment from this crowd of warring sects to the contemplation of it singly, would not the profound doctrinal differences which not merely separate one part of that Church from another, but strike at the root of their common Christianity, move in such men contempt of the system, whatever they thought of the individual? Putting both system and individual into their alembic, perhaps they would say, the religion is naught, the civilization is good. If our Lord, in the great prayer for His Church, proposed the unity of Christians in belief, and their mutual charity as the test of the truth of His mission to the world, can we doubt that the absence of unity in belief and the want of mutual charity, shown quite as much in the several factions of the Established Church as in the various other Protestant sects, must act on the minds of a vast number of men in the way of repelling them from what appears to them to be the effect of the Christian religion itself? The tables of modern clubs, which groan with the multitude of reviews, show that many intelligent minds limit their notion of Christianity to the Established Church, and the various sects which dispute the soil of this country. Now, if these are one in any single point, it is in their origin. They are the progeny of Luther's reformation. They are the gospel of discord bequeathed by him to the Christendom in which he was nurtured. But those who form their notion of the religion of Christ from the picture which is thus presented to them must, as I imagine, feel rather a loathing at so offensive a centipede than any drawing to a religion of truth, peace, and light.

But turning aside from this discouraging thought, let us regard all these different sects from that point of view which has led me to this Introduction itself, that is to say, the Royal Supremacy as the expression of a particular relation between Church and State. We may then divide them into those which are State Churches, and those which are autonomous societies.

Now, as to the former, such as the Luthero-Calvinist Prussian Communion, the Swedish, and the Danish, we may dismiss them with the single remark that the civil ruler practically governs each of them. They are as much in his hand as the Greek hierarchy in Turkey is in the Sultan's hand, or the Russian hierarchy is in the Tsar's hand. In doctrine and discipline they differ most widely from these communities; in servitude to the civil ruler they are one with them. Let us pass from them to the autonomous societies.

At the head of these I would put the Free Kirk of Scotland, because it broke forth from the womb of the Established Kirk, by a very astonishing birth, in 1843. It was projected in one mass by the force of the tenet of ecclesiastical liberty and deliverance from State control. Yet the Established Kirk, from which it broke, was very far indeed from receiving its spiritual jurisdiction—which is something entirely distinct from the right of patronage—at the hand of the State. Not as a Crown-foundling did Knox conceive his Church, but as a divine man. The Scotch Kirk had from its beginning quite a different spirit from its Anglican sister. It was conceived in a heat of religious zeal and hatred; and nursed, not by servile waiters upon tyrants, but by strong hands who grasped at wielding the power of the State in propagation of their principles. Only in one point, the profligacy of covetous nobles, lusting after the goods of the Church, did the Kirk present a likeness to her southern kinswoman. But to the two Scottish Kirks we may add the long list of nonconforming sects in the United Kingdom and in America, of which Puritanism was the mother. In their actual organization, whatever that may be, they all maintain

in some sort the tenet of ecclesiastical freedom. It is true that English Puritanism in its origin did not seem instinct with this spirit, but in the State Church it was kept in check by Royal power; otherwise, if the State would have accepted it whole and entire, it would have accepted the State, and directed all the physical as well as moral power of the government against its adversaries. It would have thundered from the pulpit, but it would likewise have used the thumbscrew. But when, after a hundred years of turbulence, after having slain a Sovereign and overthrown a Royalty, Puritanism had to surrender either its doctrines or its livings, it left the Established Church, and became, by the process of free love, the prolific mother of modern Dissent. And thus this good may be said of the Dissenting bodies in general—English, Scotch, Irish, and American—that, in their actual growth and condition, they uphold the principle that the civil power is not commissioned to have the tutelage of religion as an institution or of religious truth as a doctrine. In this point they one and all bear witness to the Catholic Church. And we may largely sympathize with the sufferings undergone by so many in defence of this principle during the long period when they struggled with the wealth and social influence of the Established Church, between 1660 and 1828. In all these sects there are and have been many individuals who, through the circumstances of their nurture and education, were not aware of the schism or heresy in which they were, by no personal fault, involved, but who carried out, in the midst of penury or persecution, Christian principles to the perception of which they had reached. All sects contain members far better than the constituent principles of their sect. And the same may be said of all false religions. In the Catholic Church alone her principles are far higher than the practice of the greatest saints—with the single exception of that one whom all generations call blessed; elsewhere and everywhere there are not unfrequent instances wherein practice surpasses principle.

This thought leads me to another. Admitting the personal

virtues, the piety of life and excellence of character, which have shone in a great number of individuals who have belonged to these various religious communities, and which bear witness to their correspondence to the grace of God which they have received—for the Spirit of God filleth the whole earth—we may go on to remark three great losses which are common to all these communities, whether servile instruments of Cæsarism, or autonomous.

When these sects took their rise, there was no idea more deeply implanted in Christian nations than this, that Christ had set up one divine kingdom upon earth; that he had willed and intended all Christian people, without regard of race, or power, or material prosperity, to belong to that kingdom. As St. Paul preached to the heathen philosophers at Athens that God had made of one blood all the nations of the earth, so had the Church preached to all the heathen that He had made them to be drawn together into one kingdom, as the sharers of one redemption, to be the people of the incarnate God, purchased with His blood. When these Protestant sects arose, this idea filled the heart of the nations which the Church had created out of effeminate Greeks and Romans, or German clans, wandering in woods and worshipping idols. It was not only *one kingdom in heaven* to which men looked forward, but they acknowledged *one kingdom on earth*, the seed-bed, prelude, anticipation of the one to come. And this kingdom had one law; the work of its episcopate, whether collected in Councils, or diffused over the earth, of its episcopate presided over, directed, bound in one by the majesty of the Apostolic See. Now, it is remarkable that these several sects have one and all lost the sense of this one divine kingdom on earth; lost even the desire of belonging to it. The fruit of their endless dissensions in teaching and practice is that it has become an unreality to them. Their name is legion; their nature is dissension; their practice division. How should they think of one kingdom of God upon earth?

Secondly, when these sects arose, the Christian religion

was considered by all as a dogmatic revelation. Every part, indeed, of its framework was supported on the central truth, the great, inexplicable, all but inconceivable act of mercy and goodness, transcending all thought, surpassing all tenderness of the human heart, that God had become Man for man's sake. Every particle of the Church's doctrine and discipline was the outcome of this truth. And as this truth is supernatural in the highest degree, so likewise was the system generated by it. As it was in the highest degree dogmatic, so was the system which expressed it in every rite—from the baptism of the infant to the anointing of the dying. The Christian faith was one sublime act of dogma, and could say of itself, as a single expression of its being, in the words of St. John (1 Epist. iv. 3): "Every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God; and every spirit that dissolveth Jesus, is not of God: and this is antichrist." All its morality, all its sacraments, all its worship, all its love and adoration of God, are the simple outcome of the twofold truth: that God became Man for man, and as Man was crucified for man. This idea also, as well as the former, ran through the Christian nations as the sap of their life. These sects themselves, when they arose, were impregnated with it. They were ready to fight for what they thought God's truth—truth supernatural; the incarnation, the atonement, the heaven, and the hell, which come together to man—live together in his consciousness, or depart together from him. But in progress of time they have, one and all, declined from this idea: they have come to distinguish dogma from religion, from worship, from action; so that it is pretty nearly come to this, that a man may think himself to be a Christian without believing in Christ, and instead of Christian faith generating Christian practice, it is a widely spread notion that faith and practice have nothing to do with each other. Indeed, no twaddle is more incessantly circulated than this, that religion and dogma are mutually opposed. It is the favourite thesis of indifferentism. How has this come about? Because these sects,

by their divisions in belief, have come to the opinion that unity of faith is impossible; that what clearly none of themselves possess, can be possessed by nobody.

It has often been remarked that ideas, in the course of time and in the succession of generations and numbers of men, are worked out with a logical accuracy, both of thought and of execution, of which few individuals are capable. For instance, Luther and Calvin, as individuals—and I take them only as samples of others in their time—had a strong belief of certain great supernatural truths; but they substituted the individual interpretation by the private judgment of a written document for the unity of Christendom as enshrined in one society, and for the authority on which the whole Christian revelation rested. The rotting mass of sects which they have generated, and which we now see before our eyes, have carried out their double substitution to its full development. They have lost the very sense of the unity of Christendom, and they have lost the very belief that revelation is dogmatic; and with these that portion of supernatural truth which their founders held, and would have imposed upon all men who fell under their power.

After this it seems almost unnecessary to go on to the third loss which Protestant sects have universally sustained; yet it is one so great that a word must be said upon it.

A third idea penetrated Christian life when Luther started on his course. All who lived a pious, good, and holy life, lived so by virtue of the Sacraments, which derived to them the life of Christ. The Sacraments are the Church's dower, by which Christ sustains the children He has generated in her bosom, and in them the faithful day by day touch, as it were, their Redeemer and Saviour, and receive of that life which the Son of Mary, when He came into the world, brought to them, which in dying he offered for them, which in rising again He communicates to them, of which He set up a perpetual storehouse in His Church. But the Protestants at their origin attacked the priesthood after the order of

Melchisedec, in virtue of which Christ is for ever present in the Church by "the power of an indissoluble life." One of the three whom the Anglican Church counts for her martyred founders signalized his pseudo-episcopate by removing the altars on which the unbloody sacrifice had been offered since the Church existed in England, and placing them at the entrance of the Churches to be trodden upon by all, in scorn of the doctrine which they represented. The whole Elizabethan reign was one continued persecution of the Sacraments; it was death to be a priest, to say mass, to hear a confession. Puritanism has produced many sturdy and conscientious men, but their piety has been eminently anti-sacramental. They had gone out of the Church; no wonder that they despised the Church's dowry. All that great and divine belief of Christ daily fostering and feeding His children, healing their wounds by the unction of penance, and supporting them in the daily trials of life by the touch of His divine hand, has been proscribed by these sects as sacerdotalism. They dissociated the inward feelings of the heart, the convictions of faith, their very prayers and supplications to God from the framework which our Lord, in becoming Man and building up His spiritual body, had constructed for their maintenance. They have come to such a pass that they knew not and know not that they are thus repudiating the work of the incarnate God in one of His main operations; the touching and sanctifying matter, of which His own natural Body is the great type, source, and original.

Thus, between a revolt in the East, of which the result has been to debase and enslave the Greek episcopate under the hand of the Sultan, and to turn the episcopate of the great Russian empire into a Board of Delegates, ruled by the Tsar's Ober-Procuror; and a revolt in the West, which has generated three or four State Churches, with more than dubious episcopates, who receive whatever spiritual powers they are allowed to retain from their civil governments, and moreover a host of sects, which, as they were born of rebellion,

become parents on the condition of having children who shall rend them in pieces;—between all these, bearing on high the standard of a commission received from her Lord alone, and carried through eighteen centuries and a half, and sixty generations of men, without a flaw or failure, stands the Catholic Church. She has now, as she has always had, one episcopate, not deriving either its sacerdotal powers or its right to exercise them from the State; she has, as she has ever had, one doctrine, not dashed into fragments like broken glass, lacerating the hand that touches it unwarily, but as one pure mirror reflecting the image of her Lord—of Him who was from the beginning the Creator, and in the fulness of time became the Redeemer.

As I reflect upon the mournful fact how many in the present day fail to see the evidence of a divine government and a divine doctrine enshrined in the one Christian society, and in the hunger of their souls for unfound truth have fallen into blank unbelief, because, instead of lifting their eyes to the great Mother of saints in her martyrdom of eighteen hundred years, they confine them to that miserable history of schism and heresy generating evermore their like, which is the outcome of Luther's revolt, I call to mind a passage of St. Theresa, which seems to be applicable not to individuals only, but to bodies of men. "As I was once reciting," says the saint, "the hours of the divine office, with all the rest of the nuns, my soul immediately began to be recollected; and there seemed to be something like a clear looking-glass, without having anything either on the back, or on the sides, or above, or below, which was not all exceeding clear. In the very centre of this, Christ our Lord was represented to me, just as I am accustomed to see Him. It seemed to me as if I saw Him clearly in all the parts of my soul, as in a looking-glass; and this glass was engraven all over, though I know not how, and our Lord Himself was represented in so very enamoured a way that I cannot express it. I know this vision has been of great benefit to me, every time I remember it,

especially after receiving the most blessed Sacrament. Hereby I was given to understand, that when a soul is in mortal sin, it is like covering this glass with a great cloud, and making it become very dark; so that though our Lord be ever present with us, thereby giving us our very being, yet then He is not so represented or seen in us; and that when any persons become heretics, then the looking-glass is, as it were, broken, which is far worse than to be obscured. But there is a great difference between my seeing this and relating it, for it is difficult to make it understood."

In the year 1564, the Council of Trent closed its sittings, having set forth a clear, consistent doctrine upon every point of the Christian life which the innovators had attacked; and this doctrine, in the three succeeding centuries, passed into the life-blood of the Church, and was incarnated in the conduct of her people. On the one side schism and heresy took their course, and the 163 sects of the Almanac are the result. On the other side, while the Catholic Church was deprived more and more of civil endowment and national acknowledgment—while rather she encountered storms which seemed strong enough to tear up not only the divine society among men, but that human society through which it spreads as a leaven—the doctrine set forth at Trent was more and more illustrated, drawn out, and applied; and her episcopate, severed in too many instances from national support, has only learned thereby to cling more steadfastly to the rock of Peter, out of which it is hewn. At length, under that very dome, representing in its peerless structure the spiritual and intelligible fabric which it was built to symbolize, unity of doctrine and unity of government, in that form in which alone they have appeared among men, met, at the voice of Peter, full three hundred years after Trent, a Council in which no longer Bishops merely from the old Roman empire, the limited world of the first civilization, but Bishops from all the nations of Europe, with their brethren from Asia, North and South America, India, China, and Australia, sat together to utter once more the

voice of Peter, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," and to bear witness to the answer, "I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." For this confession and the answer to it are conspicuous in the two great utterances put forth for all time, the constitution "Dei Filius" and the constitution "Pastor Æternus." In the first, the foundation of all piety, the belief in God the Creator, and in the revelation which He has given, then the faith by which it is accepted, lastly, the relation between faith and reason, are set forth against a world which has gone so far as to deny even these truths; in the second, the great and wonderful creation of our Lord Himself, the Primacy, instituted by no Council, but set by Him for the foundation stone of His Church, its perpetuity, its power, and its office of teaching, are exhibited with perfect lucidity in the face of schism and multifarious heresy, the mark of the period which has elapsed since the Council of Trent. Never before was the authority which builds up, and the anarchy which dissolves, placed in a more striking antagonism. The multitudinous press throughout the world, tri-monthly, monthly, weekly, daily, the power which withholds its name, and works with number as its lever, has been for three generations pouring forth a deluge of sophisms, misrepresentations, and calumny against the whole order of these truths. It is "the sea and the waves roaring." Now, in the midst of their tumult, appears the tranquil ark of God, bearing the Redeemer of the world. What man to whom it was granted to behold the Sovereign Pontiff, crowned with long years of trials, sufferings, and triumphs, close that vast procession which came at his bidding from all quarters of the earth, as it moved up the nave, and take his seat at the head of his brethren from all lands, could doubt that the glory of Nicæa and Chalcedon, and Lateran and Trent, was even surpassed by the majesty which then appeared? Scarcely was the word uttered which pronounced that Peter had ever been by the gift of Christ the guardian and interpreter of revealed truth, as well as the centre of a divine union among men, than the nations broke into

frantic strife, the prelude of fresh struggles and interminable warfare, the mark at once and the punishment of that second and more guilty heathendom which they are choosing in their apostasy from Christendom. In the very spot, and at the very moment when their dethronement of the Vicar of Christ was to be perpetrated, the Church pointed out the most precious of the stones set in his spiritual crown. His temporal sovereignty was the acknowledgment by the converted nations of that spiritual crown. What will be its denial? But more clear than ever for that contrast the ark of peace, the divine commonwealth, in which alone all these nations have been and may be one, appears among men. Heresies divide, sects destroy, error wastes away and pulverizes itself. Truth alone is one, grows and lives. The bearer of truth alone, the one Church of God, is that mirror which St. Theresa saw, reflecting, for those whose hearts are pure, the likeness of our Lord Himself, in so loving a form that human words fail to express it.

February 12*th*, 1879.

I.

THE ROYAL SUPREMACY

VIEWED IN REFERENCE TO

THE TWO SPIRITUAL POWERS OF ORDER AND JURISDICTION.

1850.

CONTENTS.

SECTION		PAGE
I.	The Royal Supremacy	85
II.	Order and Jurisdiction	91
III.	The Power of Jurisdiction twofold	94
IV.	Ancient Testimony to the Power of Spiritual Jurisdiction	98
V.	This Power annexed to the Crown by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth	105
VI.	Historical carrying out of Elizabeth's Idea	110
VII.	Spiritual Jurisdiction "in foro interno"	118
VIII.	Bearing of the Royal Supremacy on all this	121

N.B.—I have often in these pages not only followed the doctrine, but used the words of the great theologian Suarez, but I think a particular specification of every such use unnecessary, and content myself with a general acknowledgment.

THE ROYAL SUPREMACY, ETC.

Section I.—The Royal Supremacy.

The Royal Supremacy in causes ecclesiastical has by the case of Gorham *v.* the Bishop of Exeter been brought before the minds of all Churchmen as an object of engrossing interest. And this is true in two points of view. Whether we regard the power claimed by the Crown to judge as a final court of appeal, in causes most purely spiritual, or whether we look at the decision itself recently given, the Royal Supremacy may be said to be now affecting the spiritual condition before God of every member of the Anglican Church. This being the case—that is, the Catholicity of a whole Communion, and, by consequence, the salvation of the souls belonging to it, being at issue,—I feel it impossible to deal with the subject in a controversial spirit. I must not advocate a cause, but simply state the truth. I must not turn away my eyes from certain parts of the subject, because they are disagreeable, nay, in the highest degree oppressive to my convictions and feelings as a Christian. All that I have to deal with is *the truth*, the actual state of things, and the poet's praise is the highest here, "nothing extenuate, set down nought in malice"—for to make things appear better than they are, because the reality is very trying, very agitating to tender or to doubtful minds, because one would wish things otherwise, because as a question of common Christian right, of English liberty, they ought

to be otherwise,—this is, I think, in a matter of such moment, playing with souls.

Nothing can be plainer than the meaning of the Acts of Parliament; nor are the Articles and Canons ambiguous, when it is considered that they *follow* these Acts of Parliament in time, and have reference to them in their subject matter.

For instance, the thirty-seventh Article says: "The Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England, and other her dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain; and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

"Where we attribute to the Queen's Majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended, we give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word or of the Sacraments, the which thing the injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in Holy Scriptures by God Himself; that is, that they should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers. The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this Realm of England."

Now, supposing that question may arise as to the nature and extent of this "chief government" here asserted, so far as the Article itself goes, yet it refers to two other documents in explanation of its own meaning, viz., to the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, and, in them, to a certain oath imposed by a certain Act of Parliament.

Let us see whether these two authorities leave us in any doubt as to the meaning of the Article.

The injunctions run thus:*

"The Queen's Majesty being informed that in certain

* Gibson, i. 54.

places of the realm sundry of her native subjects, being called to ecclesiastical ministry of the Church, be by sinister persuasion and perverse construction induced to find some scruple in the form of an oath which by an Act of the last Parliament is prescribed to be required of divers persons for the recognition of their allegiance to her Majesty, which certainly never was meant, nor by any equity of words or good sense can be thereof gathered; would that all her loving subjects should understand that nothing was, is, or shall be meant or intended by the same oath to have any other duty, allegiance, or bond required by the same oath, *than was acknowledged to be due to the most noble kings of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, her Majestie's father, or King Edward the Sixth, her Majestie's brother.*

"And further, her Majesty forbiddeth all manner her subjects to give ear or credit to such perverse and malicious persons, which most sinisterly and maliciously labour to notifie to her loving subjects, how by words of the said oath it may be collected, *that the Kings or Queens of this realm, possessors of the crown, may challenge authority and power of ministry of divine service in the Church,* wherein her said subjects be much abused by such evil-disposed persons. For certainly her Majesty neither doth nor ever will challenge any authority *than that was challenged and lately used by the said noble Kings, of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth and King Edward the Sixth,* which is and was of ancient time due to the Imperial Crown of this realm; that is, under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, dominions, and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, so ever they be, so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them. And if any person that hath conceived any other sense of the form of the said oath shall accept the same oath with this interpretation, sense, or meaning, her Majesty is well pleased to accept every such in that behalf as her good and obedient subjects, and shall acquit them of all manner of

penalties contained in the said Act against such as shall peremptorily or obstinately take the same oath."

The oath here mentioned to be taken by all ecclesiastical persons and temporal officers runs as follows in the Act 1 Elizabeth, c. 1, which imposes it, sect. 19:—"I do utterly testify and declare in my conscience that the Queen's Highness is the only supreme Governor of this realm, and of all other her Highness's dominions and countries, as well in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical things or causes as Temporal; and that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate hath, or ought to have, any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preheminence, or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this realm, and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign Jurisdictions, Powers, Superiorities, and Authorities, and do promise that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegiance unto the Queen's Highness, her heirs and lawful successors, *and to my power shall assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Privileges, Preheminences, and Authorities granted or belonging unto the Queen's Highness, her heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm.*"

This same Act, in sect. 17, runs thus: "And that also it may likewise please your Highness that it may be established and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that *such Jurisdictions, Privileges, Superiorities, and Preheminences, Spiritual and Ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been or may lawfully be exercised or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, shall for ever, by authority of this present Parliament, be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm.*"

Bishop Gibson, from whose Codex I quote this Act, puts beside of this section, as its summary, "Such spiritual jurisdiction, as hath heretofore been exercised, shall be for ever annexed to the crown." And his heading of the page

is, "Supreme Head of the Church of England, Papal and Regal."

I should think that no man living, of competent knowledge and fairness of mind, looking at these three documents; first, the article referring to certain injunctions, then the injunctions referring to and interpreting an oath, which oath is contained in an Act of Parliament enacting further provisions in elucidation of it, which the oath records and embraces, and bearing in mind that the article was accepted and enacted by the Church *after* the injunctions and the Act of Parliament, would fail to draw the conclusion, that both article and injunctions, and Act of Parliament, concurred, in annexing to the Crown whatever spiritual jurisdiction had before been possessed by the Pope.

And I think it is equally clear, from the words of the article, and of Queen Elizabeth's injunctions, that the authority and pre-eminence thus annexed to the Crown belonged to the power of Jurisdiction, and not to the power of Order. "Her Majesty forbiddeth to give ear or credit, that the Kings or Queens of this realm, possessors of the crown, may challenge authority and power of ministry of divine service in the Church."

The change, therefore, did not touch anything which belonged to the mere power of Order.

Nevertheless the Supremacy thus transferred from the Pope to the Sovereign was the full Papal Supremacy; for that in which the Pope differs from any other Priest or any other Bishop is not a power of Order, but a power of Jurisdiction.

This is stated very lucidly by one of the greatest Roman theologians thus:—"The Pontifical power is, as it were, the primal example of all spiritual power of jurisdiction, for no one will deny that that is a true spiritual power of active jurisdiction, nay, in that order the highest which can exist in mere men. Now that power is not given to the Pontiff by any consecration, but by election, and the bare grant of God;

for when He said to Peter, Feed My sheep, He impressed on him no new consecration or character, but gave him a mere power of jurisdiction. So too the Pope, when rightly elected, is immediately true Pope as to such power, and as to that receives no consecration; nay, if not already a Bishop or a Priest, he must be afterwards consecrated or even ordained, and nevertheless *in the mean time he can exercise all acts of mere external jurisdiction.* Therefore, in the same manner the proper power of jurisdiction is granted to other Bishops by election, or simple concession, not by consecration, for the principle is the same, not only because the Episcopal power is but a certain participation of the Papal power, but likewise because, as in the appointment of the Pope to apply to him matter (for the exercise of his jurisdiction) is nothing else but to make the whole Church subject to him, and to make it subject to him is nothing else but to give to him a true and new power over it; so, when a see is given to one only consecrated Bishop before, matter (for jurisdiction) is applied to him no otherwise than that certain persons become his subjects which before they were not; nor do they become his subjects save by giving him a new power as a superior altogether distinct from the power of Order or from consecration. Lastly, because, *like as acts of Pontifical jurisdiction, as such, are not acts of Order or of consecration, nor flow from it, so neither are acts of Episcopal jurisdiction;* and a like argument may be drawn from the jurisdiction of the Apostles, as will be clear to any one who considers it." *

I consider, therefore, that the whole subject of the Royal Supremacy, of its nature, of its limits, its bearing on the spiritual condition of the Church subject to it, and on the administration of certain sacramental acts of the highest importance as well to the external government of such a Church as to the salvation of individual souls, cannot be understood without a previous understanding of the distinction between the power of Order and the power of Jurisdiction, and

* Suarez, De Legibus, lib. iv. c. 4.

of the acts severally belonging to them, which I will therefore endeavour briefly to call to remembrance.

Section II.—Order and Jurisdiction.

Spiritual power is manifold, yet it is usual to divide it into the power of Order and the power of Jurisdiction.

A. The power of Order may be briefly defined as a certain moral faculty directed to the religious worship of God, either by the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, or by the administration or dispensation of the sacraments instituted for the sanctification of the faithful, or by any other ceremonies which may fitly accompany the holy sacrifice or the sacraments.

Or it may be set forth thus a little more at length. In the mystical Body of Christ spiritual grace is conferred under the sacrament of visible things. And, as every action should bear a proportion to the agent, the dispensing of such sacraments should take place by visible men possessing a spiritual power. For the institution and virtue of sacraments derive their source from Christ, of whom the Apostle said, "Christ loved the Church, and gave Himself for it, that He might sanctify and cleanse it by the washing of water by the word." So, too, in the Last Supper, Christ gave the Sacrament of his Body and Blood, and instituted it to be repeated; and these are the chief sacraments: as, then, Christ was about to withdraw His corporal presence from the Church, it was necessary to make others His ministers, to dispense the sacraments to the faithful, as the Apostle says, "Let a man so account of us, as ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God." Thence it was that He committed to His disciples the consecration of His Body and Blood, saying, "Do this in remembrance of Me." He gives to them likewise a power of remitting sins, according to John xx. 23, "Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted." Also He laid upon them the charge of teaching and baptizing, saying, Matt. xxviii. 19, "Go ye,

and teach all nations, baptizing them." Now, the minister stands in such a relation to his Lord as the instrument to the chief agent. For just as the instrument is moved by the agent to effectuate anything, so is the minister moved by his Lord's command to execute. And the instrument should bear a proportion to the agent: whence the ministers of Christ too must be conformed to Him. Now Christ, as the Lord, wrought our salvation by His proper authority and virtue, in that He was God and Man: in that He was Man suffering for our redemption; in that He was God, His passion being salutary to us. So then must the ministers of Christ be men, and partake somewhat of His Divinity according to a certain spiritual power: since the instrument participates in somewhat of the virtue of the principal agent. Of this power it is that the Apostle says, "the power which God hath given me to edification and not to destruction."

Nor can we say that such a power was so given to Christ's disciples, as not to be derived through them unto others: for it was given to them for the edification of the Church, as the Apostle has just said. Therefore this power should be perpetuated, so long as the Church must be edified. And this must continue after the death of Christ's disciples unto the end of the world. Spiritual power, therefore, was given to Christ's disciples, to devolve through them on others: so that the Lord addressed His disciples as representing the rest of the faithful when He said, Mark xiii. 37, "What I say unto you, I say unto all;" and again, to His Apostles He said, "Lo, I am with you alway unto the end of the world."

Inasmuch, then, as this spiritual power is derived from Christ into the ministers of the Church, and spiritual effects derived into us from Christ are set forth under certain sensible signs, it was fitting that this spiritual power *should be delivered to men* under certain sensible signs. Such are certain forms of words, certain determinate acts, such as the imposition of hands, the giving of a book, etc., which belongs to the execution of spiritual power. But whenever any spiritual thing is given

under a bodily sign, this may be called a sacrament. Now it is plain that in the bestowal of spiritual power a certain sacrament takes place, which is called the sacrament of Order. And it beseems God's bounteousness when He confers on any one power to work any effect, to confer likewise such things without which the effect cannot suitably be wrought. Now, the administration of sacraments, which is the end of spiritual power, is not suitably wrought unless the ministrant is helped thereto by divine grace; and so in this sacrament, as in the rest, grace is conferred.

Now, as the end of the power of Order is the dispensation of sacraments, and of these the noblest and most perfect is the sacrament of the Eucharist, the power of Order should be considered chiefly in reference to this sacrament, everything being named from its end. Moreover, it seems to belong to the same excellence to give a certain perfection, and to prepare the material to receive it, just as fire has power to transfuse its own form into something else, and to dispose the material to receive that form. The power of Order, then, reaching to this, to make the sacrament of the Body of Christ, and to deliver it to the faithful, that power should reach likewise to rendering the faithful apt and fitting to the perception of this sacrament. And a Christian is rendered thus apt and fitting, in that he is free from sin: for otherwise he cannot be spiritually united to Christ, to whom he is joined sacramentally, in receiving this sacrament. So, then, the power of Order must reach to remission of sins by the dispensation of those sacraments whose end is the remission of sin; and these are baptism, and repentance. Thence it was that the Lord gave also the power of remitting sins to the Apostles, to whom he committed the consecration of His Body. Now this power is understood by the keys, of which the Lord said to Peter, "I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." For the heaven is opened or shut to any one in that he is subject to, or cleansed from, sin: and so the use of these keys is said to be to bind and loose, that is, from sins.

It would seem, then, that as all grace and pardon in the mystical Body flow from its Head, it is *in essence* the same power by which a Priest can consecrate, and bind and loose, if he has jurisdiction; nor does it differ, save in the mode of its application to different effects. And this double power makes up the *character* of Order, which is indelible.

Now, I conceive that the Royal Supremacy did not assume to itself anything that belongs *strictly* to the power of Order, and this is the value of Queen Elizabeth's disclaimer in her injunctions, and of those in the thirty-seventh Article, there called the ministering of God's word, and of the sacraments. And so again of Bishop Andrewes, quoted by Mr. Irons: "Nor does the King assume, nay, he would not endure, to have authority to burn incense with Ozias, or to touch the Ark with Oza, which you are for ever odiously imputing to us: he does not arrogate your boasted office of teaching, or explaining doubtful points of the law, which you say belongs properly to the Pope's Primacy; or that of preaching, or exercising sacred functions, or celebrating sacraments; or of consecrating either person or matter; nor the power of the keys, or of censure. In a word, he neither claims nor do we allow to him all those things which belong to the sacerdotal office, or *follow the power of Order*." I said above, which belongs *strictly* to the power of Order, for as the power of the keys cannot be exercised without jurisdiction, we shall see presently what effect the assumption of supreme jurisdiction by the civil authority has on that power.

Section III.—The Power of Jurisdiction Twofold.

B. The second spiritual power above mentioned, that of Jurisdiction, is usually divided into interior and exterior: so called, not because both are not exercised by sensible and outward acts, for both having to deal with men in respect of other men must necessarily be exercised by external acts.

But they are so called because one has reference to the sacramental forum, which belongs only to the conscience, and the inward good of souls, and therefore is named *interior jurisdiction*. Now of this I will speak further presently.

I. But the other power has reference to the government of the Church in the external forum, by means of judgments, penalties, and whatever else is necessary for the right constitution and government of a human commonwealth. And this is called the power of *exterior jurisdiction*. To this belongs the directive power of enacting laws obligatory on the conscience, which exists in the Church: and to this likewise coercive power, and therefore it is also called the power of the contentious forum.

Its principle is, that every well-ordered commonwealth needs a power of jurisdiction, as well directive as coercive, in order that it be suitably governed; and that is clear of itself, even by the light of nature; but Christ set up His Church as one Body politic, to be ruled and governed by men, as is plain from the Gospel, and the Church's own tradition: and from the Creed, "I believe One Holy, Catholic, Apostolic Church."

There is, then, in this Church a peculiar power for ruling and governing it. This may be proved, first, *by Scripture*. As in our Lord's words to St. Peter, "I give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven;" and John xxi., "Feed My sheep;" and again to the Apostles, "He who heareth you, heareth Me, and he who despiseth you, despiseth Me;" and again, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost. As my Father hath sent Me, even so send I you." Now Christ was sent not only as a teacher, but as a legislator and a governor, as the Psalm prophesied of Him, "I will give to Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance; Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron." Therefore He sent His Apostles likewise with a sufficient participation of that power. For the reign and rule of Christ in the Church militant were not to terminate with His mortal life, or with His visible and corporal presence on earth, but to last

for ever, as was foretold, "The Lord shall give unto Him the throne of His father David, and He shall reign for ever." Therefore it was necessary that He should leave on earth a power holding His place, by which this spiritual regimen might continue.

Secondly, this power is proved *by its use*. For the first act of this power which is read of in Scripture seems to have been the Apostolic decree in Acts xv., "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay on you no further burden than these necessary things: to abstain," etc. For here two human canonical precepts are contained: one imposing this burden as necessary; the other declarative, that from that time nothing else of the ceremonial law of Moses should be observed as necessary. And presently it is said of Paul and Timothy, that "they delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the Apostles and Elders." St. Paul, in his Epistles, often mentions this power, as when he says, "The power which the Lord gave him to edification, and not to destruction;" and so again, "Will ye that I come to you with a rod?" For a rod signifies the power of government, which, in that it is directive, is called "a sceptre of right," Psalm xlv.; and in that it is corrective, is called "a rod of iron," Psalm ii. Thus St. Augustine explains it, saying in the former place, "'A sceptre of right,' which ruleth men. Approach that sceptre; let Christ be your King: let Him rule you with that sceptre, lest He crush you. For that is an inflexible rod." And in the latter, "A rod of iron is inflexible justice." "Some he rules, others he crushes: the spiritual he ruleth, the carnal he crusheth." Such, then, was the rod of St. Paul, of which a share was given him by Christ; and he uses that rod of iron where he says, "I, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already . . . with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . to deliver such an one to Satan." But of the "sceptre of right" St. Paul speaks in Acts xx.: "Take heed . . . to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you Bishops, to feed the Church of God."

And to the faithful he says, "Obey them that have the rule over you, and be subject unto them." And again he says, "Against an Elder receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses," where he supposes in the Church a proper judgment and tribunal.

And, thirdly, that power which is shown thus in Scripture as begun, is continued on *in History* through all ages of the Church in diocesan, archiepiscopal, and primatial governments, in provincial and general councils, and borne witness to everywhere by the Church's rulers and writers.

And the principle of all this is manifest, that the Church is one mystical body of Christ, one divinely constituted kingdom. Now, a kingdom cannot be maintained without a power to rule it, in proportion to it. Thus, as one out of a multitude, St. Epiphanius says (tom. i. p. 118): "For the throne of David, and the royal seat, is the priesthood in the holy Church, which dignity, *both royal and high-priestly*, the Lord having joined together in one, hath bestowed it on His holy Church, translating unto it the throne of David, which faileth not for ever."

This power is spiritual and supernatural, requiring indeed, and presupposing orders, but not given in them indelibly as their character, for it is capable of increase or diminution in individuals, and exists in different degrees in those who have the same rank of orders. It can also be taken away, and given again, which is not the case with any power given by consecration.

Now, from all that has been said, it is plain that this spiritual power of government is quite distinct from the temporal. And that, first, and chiefly, in its *end;* for the end of the temporal power is to preserve the peace and honour of the commonwealth, as St. Paul says, bidding us pray for kings, "that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty." Whereas the end of the ecclesiastical power is the attainment of eternal salvation, as St. Paul says, "for the perfecting of the saints," and, "Obey

them that have the rule over you; for they watch for your souls as they that must give account."

Another difference is in its *origin*, inasmuch as the temporal power derives its origin from God as the author of nature, through the medium of natural reason, and so, considered in itself, is of natural right; but in so far as it is seated in a King or in a Parliament, it is of human right. Whereas the ecclesiastical power is of positive Divine right, and the special promise and grant of Christ. "I will give to thee the keys." "Feed My sheep." "As my Father hath sent Me, even so send I you." For as the end to which this power is directed, and the acts and means by which it subsists, are above natural and human strength, so must the power itself have its origin above human or natural right. In fact, these powers differ, as the material and spiritual, the natural and supernatural, the earthly and heavenly.

Once more; not only in their *end* and *origin* do they differ, but in their *subjects*; the one being, Kings and other rulers of the temporal State; the others the rulers in God's Church, according to the gradations of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. This may be proved by the authority of Scripture. For this spiritual power, derived from the direct and special grant of Christ, is *not* found, in the New Testament, given to those persons who were temporal Kings; and *is* given to Peter, and the rest of the Apostles; *is* found to be used by St. Paul, and other Bishops. For before there were in the Church temporal Kings, there were therein Pastors with true spiritual jurisdiction to rule the Church; therefore this power does not of itself depend on the Royal power, nor is joined with it by any power of it.

Section IV.—Ancient Testimony to the Power of Spiritual Jurisdiction.

The Emperors, on the one hand, in the primitive Church, and the Fathers and rulers of it, on the other, were perfectly familiar with the existence of this right of spiritual jurisdic-

tion: the former admitted it, and the latter enlarged on it, and set it forth. The Emperor Constantine convoked, we are told, the Nicene Council; and no doubt he did so, at the instance, probably, and certainly with the consent, of the Bishops of Rome and Alexandria; at any rate, he said to the bishops there assembled, as Ruffinus (lib. i. Hist.) has recorded for us, "God has set you to be Priests, and by God you have been given to us as judges, and it is not fitting that a man judge gods, but He only of whom it is written, God stood in the congregation of gods; but God gives sentence in the midst of them."

The Emperor Theodosius summoned the third Ecumenical Council: be it so; in conjunction again with the ecclesiastical power; and he sent a Royal Commissioner to attend the Council, "to preserve order:" and he writes to the Council thus: "We have therefore ordered Candidianus, the right honourable Count of our sacred domestics, to go to your holy synod: but with the rule and condition that he intermeddle not at all with questions and controversies which arise on dogmas of faith: for it were impiety that one who is not numbered in the roll of the most reverend Bishops, should mix himself up with ecclesiastical business and consultations." *

Again, the Bishops of the Hellespont and Bithynia asked the Emperor Valentinian to let them assemble "for correction of doctrine." The Emperor replied: "I, as a layman, have no right to interpose in such matters. But let the Bishops, who are charged with them, meet by themselves where they choose." † And of the same Emperor the same historian writes, lib. vi. c. 21: "In the West reigned Valentinian, who supported the doctrine of the Nicene Council, and was very piously disposed towards God; so that he laid no command on the Bishops, and would not meddle either for what seemed to him good or bad in the Church's laws. For he considered these things superior to his own judgment, though he was a most excellent Prince, and showed it by his

* Mansi, tom. iv. p. 1119.

† Sozomen. lib. vi. c. 7.

government." To the Bishops assembled at Milan, for the election of a Bishop there, who was afterwards St. Ambrose, the same Emperor said: "Put there such an one in the Pontifical seat as that we too, who govern the empire, may sincerely bow our head to him, and for our transgressions as man receive, as we are bound, his advice, as the remedy of a physician." *

The great Emperor Justinian, who carried, certainly, high enough his notions of imperial power, and his practice of imperial interference, yet says: "The gifts of God bestowed by the divine mercy, the Priesthood and the Empire, are the greatest in all things: the former ministering to things divine, the latter presiding over things human, or giving its attention to them, both proceeding from one and the same source, adorn the life of man."

Lastly, among the acts of the Eighth General Council, there is a speech of the Emperor Basil, in which, addressing the laity, he says: "Of you I have no more to say than that you may in no respect speak upon ecclesiastical causes. To investigate and inquire into these belongs to Patriarchs, Pontiffs, and Bishops, to whom the office of ruling has fallen, who have the power to consecrate, to bind, and to loose, who have received the ecclesiastical and heavenly keys: *it is not ours, who have to be fed.*"

What is thus conceded by the highest temporal power, is assumed as incontestable by the spiritual itself. St. Athanasius has recorded for us a letter of the aged Hosius, President of the Councils of Nicæa and Sardica, to the Emperor Constantius, in which he says: "Cease, I beseech thee, and remember that thou art a mortal man. Fear the day of Judgment: keep thyself innocent unto that. Mix not thyself in ecclesiastical matters, nor give us thy orders respecting these: but rather learn thou these from us. Into thy hands God hath put the empire; to us has He entrusted the affairs of the Church. And as he who stealeth away thy power contradicts the ordinance of God, so fear thou, lest drawing

* Hist. Trip. lib. vii. c. 8.

to thyself matters of the Church, thou become involved in a great crime. It is written, 'Render to Cæsar the things of Cæsar, and to God the things of God.'" * Presently, in his own person, St. Athanasius says: "If a judgment had been passed by Bishops, what concern had the Emperor with it? or if it was only a threat of the Emperor, what need in that case was there of the so-named Bishops? When was such a thing heard of before from the beginning of the world? *When did a judgment of the Church receive its validity from the Emperor?* or, rather, when was his decree ever recognized by the Church? There have been many councils held heretofore, and many judgments passed by the Church, but the Fathers never sought the consent of the Emperor thereto; nor did the Emperor busy himself with the affairs of the Church. The Apostle Paul had friends among them of Cæsar's household, and in his Epistle to the Philippians he sent salutations from them; but he never took them as his associates in ecclesiastical judgments. Now, however, we have witnessed a novel sight, which is a discovery of the Arian heresy. Heretics have assembled together with the Emperor Constantius, in order that he, alleging the authority of the Bishops, may exercise his power against whomsoever he pleases, and while he persecutes may avoid the name of persecutor; and that they, supported by the Emperor's government, may conspire the ruin of whomsoever they will; and these are all such as are not as impious as themselves. One might look upon their proceedings as a comedy which they are performing on the stage, in which the pretended Bishops are actors, and Constantius the performer of their behests, who makes promises to them, as Herod did to the daughter of Herodias, and they, dancing before him, accomplish, through false accusations, the banishment and death of the true believers in the Lord." †

St. Ambrose, describing the attempts made to induce him to admit the Arians to communion, says: "Command is sent to me, Give up the Church. I answer, it is neither law-

* Tom. i. p. 371. † Tom. i. p. 376. Oxf. Tr. p. 266.

ful for me to give it up, nor is it expedient for thee, O Emperor, to take it. Thou canst not with any right violate a private man's house; thinkest thou that thou canst take away the house of God. I am told that to the Emperor all things are lawful; that everything belongs to him. I answer, Trouble not thyself, O Emperor, to think that thou hast any imperial right over the things which are divine. Set not thyself up, but if thou wouldst reign long, be subject unto God. It is written, 'To God the things of God, to Cæsar the things of Cæsar.' To the Emperor belong his palaces; to the Bishop, the churches. Right over the public walls is committed to thee, not over those which are sacred.'" *

St. Gregory of Nazianzum, preaching before the Prefect of his province, thus addresses him: "But what of you, Princes and Rulers, for to you I now address myself, that I may not seem quite unfair, and while I advise others of their duty, yield to your power, as through shame or fear declining the liberty which I have in Christ. What then say you, and how do we agree? will you bear my freedom of speech? The law of Christ subjects you too to my rule and to my tribunal. For I also have a government, nay, a greater and more perfect one, or must the spirit yield to the flesh, and the heavenly to the earthly? I know that thou wilt receive my freedom, being a sheep of my flock, a sacred sheep of a sacred flock." †

St. John Damascene says: "We will not endure to obey an imperial decree which endeavours to overthrow the customs of the Fathers. It belongs not to religious Princes to overthrow ecclesiastical laws.—Such things belong to Councils, not to Kings, as the Lord said, 'Where two or three shall be gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them.' Not to Kings has Christ given the power to bind and to loose, but to Apostles, and to their successors, and to Pastors and Teachers." ‡ And again: "It belongs not to

* Tom. ii. p. 857. Epis. 20. † Tom. i p. 322. Orat. 17.
‡ Tom. i. p. 329.

Kings to legislate for the Church. What says the divine Apostle? And 'God hath set some in the Church, first Apostles, secondary Prophets, thirdly Pastors and Teachers, for the perfecting of the Church.' He said not, Kings.—It was not Kings who spake to us the word, but Apostles and Prophets, Pastors and Teachers. 'Render unto all their due,' cries the Apostle Paul, 'honour to whom honour, fear to whom fear, tribute to whom tribute.' To Kings belongs political administration; to Pastors and Teachers the rule of the Church. This is an inroad of banditti, brethren. Saul rent the robe of Samuel, and what became of him? God rent the kingdom from him, and gave it to meekest David. The Lord said, 'Render to Cæsar the things of Cæsar, and to God the things of God.' We yield to thee, O Emperor, in the matter of this life, in tributes, taxes, presents, wherein thou art charged to administer our affairs: but in the constitution of the Church we have Pastors who have spoken to us the word, and have laid down the type of ecclesiastical legislation. We take not away the ancient boundaries which our fathers set, but we hold the traditions as we have received them. For if we begin to pull about, even in little things, the fabric of the Church, very soon the whole will be broken up." *

In the year 493, Pope Gelasius thus wrote to the Emperor Anastasius: "There are two things, august Emperor, by which in chief this world is ruled, the sacred authority of Pontiffs, and the power of Kings. Of which the weight borne by the Pontiffs is so much the heavier, in that they must render to the Lord in the Divine Judgment, account for the Kings themselves. For thou knowest, most gracious Son, that, pre-eminent as thou art above the human race in dignity, thou dost yet devotedly bow the neck unto those who preside over divine things, and from them thou seekest instruction in the way of salvation, and acknowledgest that thou oughtest rather in the order of religion to be subject

* Tom. i. p. 338.

to them than to rule them, as to the taking of the heavenly sacraments, and the fit disposing of these. Thou knowest, then, that on such subjects thou shouldest wish to depend on their judgment, not to bend them to thy will. For, if as regards the order of public administration, recognizing the empire bestowed on thee by disposition from above, the very prelates of religion obey thy laws, lest even in earthly matters they should seem to oppose a sentence not observed, with what affection, I ask, oughtest thou to obey them who are set in charge of the venerable mysteries?" *

To the same Emperor, shortly after, Pope Symmachus says: "Let us compare the rank of the Emperor with that of the Pontiff, between which there is this difference, that the former has the care of human things, and the latter of divine. From the Pontiff, as Emperor, thou askest baptism, takest sacraments, beggest prayer, hopest a blessing, *solicitest admission to penance*. In sum, thou dost administer human things; he to thee dispenses divine. The honour is, I will not say superior, but at least equal. Perhaps thou wilt say that it is written, that we should be subject to every power. We do indeed accept human powers in their place, until they set up their wills against God. But if all power is from God, rather therefore that which is given to divine things. Defer unto God in us, and we will defer unto God in thee. But if thou deferrest not to God, thou canst not use His privilege, whose rights thou despisest." †

Lastly, Pope Nicholas I., at the very commencement of the Middle Ages, before the time of our own Alfred, is only summing up the unanimous and undeviating testimony of the eight centuries before him when he writes thus to the Emperor Michael: "Do not usurp the things of the Church: do not wish to steal away what is committed to her sole trust: knowing that every administrator of earthly things should be as far removed from sacred things, as every one in the robe of the clergy, and of God's combatants, should be

* Mansi, tom. viii. p. 31. † Ibid. p. 215.

involved in no secular business. In fine, we are utterly ignorant how they, who are allowed to rule only human and not divine things, presume to judge of those who have the divine ministry. Such things were before Christ's coming, that certain should be typically Kings at once and Priests, such as the sacred history tells us holy Melchisedec to have been; and this the devil imitated in his own members, being one who ever strives to arrogate to himself in a spirit of tyranny what belongs to divine worship, so that Pagan Emperors were at the same time High Priests. But when the True One was come, at once King and Pontiff, no longer did Emperor claim to himself the rights of the priesthood, nor Pontiff usurp the name of Emperor. Since the same mediator of God and man, the man Christ Jesus, in such wise distinguished the offices of both these powers by their proper acts and their separate dignities, willing us to be raised on high by His own humility, which was for our healing, not to be sunk again down to hell by human pride, that Christian Emperors should need Pontiffs for the attainment of eternal life, and Pontiffs, for the course of merely temporal things, should have the commodity of imperial laws: and so spiritual action should be at rest from inroads of the flesh." *

Section V.—Spiritual Jurisdiction annexed to the Crown by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth.

Such is then the right of spiritual jurisdiction belonging to the rulers of the Church, by the positive grant of Christ, with which they were invested in different degrees according to their hierarchical rank, and of which the highest and most complete example, to say the least, was seen in the see of St. Peter, through an uninterrupted succession of fifteen centuries down to the time of Henry VIII. That see, as the

* Mansi, tom. xv. p. 214. For the indication of the authorities cited in this section, I am indebted to Suarez, "Defence of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith against the Errors of the Anglican Sect."—Lib. iii. ch. 7.

source and centre of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, then received appeals from the whole Church: and by a necessary consequence it was the Supreme Judge of doctrine: for it is impossible in practice to dissever supremacy of jurisdiction from carrying with it the supreme judgment of doctrine. Did then Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth deny this power of spiritual jurisdiction to exist in the Church? By no means. Did they think it undesirable, and therefore to be abandoned by the Church? As little. They so fully admitted it, and so entirely liked it, that they seized upon it, and annexed it to the imperial Crown of their realm. That which in end, in origin, and in subjects, was entirely distinct from the civil power, that which sprung from the gift of Christ to St. Peter, and the Apostolic body, they appropriated as an engine of temporal government. They would have their Crown supreme not only in temporal matters, as it had always been, but in spiritual also: have both the human and the divine power flow forth from their own persons.

I can well understand the extreme unwillingness of Churchmen to admit the real state of things as existing in fact among us, viz. that the civil power is made the root and source of spiritual jurisdiction. To all those who have been brought up in, or who have attained to, any knowledge of the Church's spiritual constitution, or of its history during the fifteen hundred years preceding this claim, to all again who believe that there is one visible Church, not in name, but in reality, and that it is one divine imperium, I will not ask what this claim must appear, either by the light of reason, or by that of Revelation. Nevertheless, all lawyers are agreed that such, so far as law goes, is the actual constitution of the Church of England. It is well, when things are disputed, to refer to past times, and I therefore allege, in support of what has just been said, the case of the Supremacy, as preserved for us by Collier, and drawn by him out of the State Paper office, the work, he says, of an able hand in the time of Charles II.—Again, Bishop Gibson, more than a hundred

years ago, interpreting the thirty-seventh Article, says of it, "The Queen hath the chief power and government, Ecclesiastical and Civil, which is not to be extended to ministering in the Church, *but only to ecclesiastical jurisdiction.*" What the Queen's Supremacy is in civil matters, we all know. All courts of justice are held in her name: all laws derive their force from her confirmation: the Supremacy means, that she is the *source* of civil power. So must it be likewise in spiritual matters, always excepting what belongs strictly to the power of Order, which Elizabeth expressly declined,—she is the *source* of the Church's jurisdiction *in foro exteriori*. And Dr. Cardwell in the year 1839 says: "It would appear from the principal act of Queen Mary (1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8) and the statutes repealed by it, that the Pope's jurisdiction in England was comprised under the five following heads: 1. He was acknowledged as chief Bishop of the Christian Church, with authority to reform and redress heresies, errors, and abuses within the same. 2. To him belonged the institution or confirmation of Bishops elect. 3. He could grant to clergymen licenses of non-residence, and permission to hold more than one benefice. 4. He dispensed the canonical impediments of matrimony. 5. He received appeals from the spiritual courts. So that the supremacy of the Crown is this respect may be summed up in the words of Hooker, after the following manner: 'There is required an universal power which reacheth over all, importing supreme authority of government over all courts, all judges, all causes; the operation of which power is as well to strengthen, maintain, and uphold particular jurisdictions, which haply might else be of small effect, as also to remedy that which they are not able to help, and to redress that wherein they at any time do otherwise than they ought to do. *This power being sometime in the Bishop of Rome*, who by sinister practices had drawn it into his hands, *was for just considerations by public consent annexed unto the King's royal seat and crown.* From whence the authors of reformation

would translate it into their national assemblies or synods; which synods are the only help which they think lawful to use against such evils in the Church as particular jurisdictions are not sufficient to redress. In which case our laws have provided that the King's supereminent authority and power shall serve: as namely, when the whole ecclesiastical State, or the principal persons therein, do need visitation and reformation: when in any part of the Church errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, enormities are grown, which men in their several jurisdictions either do not or cannot help: *whatsoever any spiritual authority or power*, (such as legates from the see of Rome would exercise,) *hath done or might heretofore have done for the remedy of those evils in lawful sort*, (that is to say, without the violation of the law of God, or nature, in the deed done,) *as much in every degree our laws have fully granted that the King for ever may do, not only by setting ecclesiastical synods on work, that the thing may be their act and the King their motion unto it, but by commissioners few or many, who having the King's letters patent may on the virtue thereof execute the premises as agents in the right not of their own peculiar and ordinary, but of his supereminent power.*' " *

The difference between the regale as exercised by the earlier or later Norman princes, and that supremacy which was settled on the Crown in 1559, is a difference not of *degree* but of *kind*. There are a vast number of mixed causes in which the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction may seem to come in contact, and in which, unless wisely and considerately wielded, they will clash. Here such Princes as Edward I. and Edward III. would be jealous of their temporal authority being infringed—but that they claimed to themselves supremacy of spiritual jurisdiction might about as reasonably be contended as that St. Louis in France did so, whose jealous care of his temporal prerogative is equally well known, and who yet has been canonized by the Roman Church. The same prerogative in spiritual matters which was claimed in right of their crown

* Hooker, vol. iii. p. 513.

by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, belonged, so far as it was legitimate, to the crowns of France, Spain, Germany, Portugal, and all the Princes of Europe. Which of them has ever been accused of annexing to his throne a spiritual supremacy? Louis XIV. pushed to their furthest extent what are called the Gallican liberties, but will any one say that he claimed to give to his Bishops their spiritual jurisdiction, or to be the supreme judge of doctrine? Is there not the greatest possible difference between the occasional clashing of two powers, one founded in men's belief and opinion on the special grant of Christ, and the other strong in material force, and representing the natural right of society to govern itself, wherein the latter would often commit acts of injustice on the former; between such a state of things, I say, on the one side, under which fall the acts of our own ante-reformation princes, and of the French, Spanish, and Portuguese Kings, and the German Emperors in all times; and on the other side, the settled and undisputed combination of the two powers of jurisdiction, civil and spiritual, in one head? The latter has been taken to be the true account of the state of things among ourselves by all continental writers from the beginning to the present day. And all our history bears witness that this is a correct judgment.

Does such a state of things allow the existence of the Church of Christ at all as one spiritual empire all over the earth? Or does it make it "only the ministry which the secular power uses for teaching such religious doctrines, duties, and observances as the State from time to time shall choose?" I suppose the answer to this question will carry with it the answer to another, Is it Christian or Anti-christian?

Had the intent been simply to take away a foreign court of appeal, and to make all spiritual causes determinable in this country, the obvious way would have been to allow no appeal from the Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, as Primate of *all* England. This would in effect have made him

a Patriarch, so far as British rule was concerned: but the civil power was as far as possible from having any such intent: it coveted and it seized the supreme spiritual jurisdiction,—the whole Papal Supremacy—for itself. For it will be seen that this supremacy, as defined above by Dr. Cardwell, from Dr. Lingard, consisted in functions all springing from the power of Jurisdiction, and not from the power of Order, though involving the possession of that power.

Section VI.—Historical carrying out of Elizabeth's Idea.

Nor in the world's history hitherto has any idea been more thoroughly worked out in act, and carried forth into every possible consequence, than the idea of the civil power being the source of spiritual jurisdiction in the Church of England. Since 1559, this may be called the basis on which all the relations of the State to the Church have been settled. The first act of the State to the nascent communion typified and summed up in a wonderful and prophetic way the whole regimen for three hundred years. Our actual Episcopate is derived from Parker: it possesses whatever jurisdiction he had, neither more nor less. The following is Mr. Lewis's account: I am not aware that any facts which he has stated are incorrect—and if not, I am sure they are so important that they ought not to be *shirked*, but an answer given to them, if an answer can be found.

"The Catholic Bishops, at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, were deprived of their sees for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, the Bishop of Llandaff excepted: to him, therefore, with certain other Bishops, the Queen issued a Commission to confirm the election of Parker, and to consecrate him to be Archbishop of Canterbury.

"The first of these Prelates, that is, the Bishop of Llandaff, and the last, Bale, Bishop of Ossory, are described as in actual possession of their sees. The others were such as had been deprived of their bishoprics, and had not yet

obtained possession of any, or were Suffragans, and consequently had no jurisdiction in the province of Canterbury, but such as was delegated to them, from time to time, by those whose Suffragans they were. The deprived Prelates were now elected to bishoprics, except one; but their election had not been confirmed, consequently they had no jurisdiction of their own. When the day appointed for the confirmation of Parker was come, the Bishops who appeared to perform the ceremonial were, Barlow, Bishop elect of Chichester; Story, elect of Hereford; Coverdale, formerly Bishop of Exeter; and John, Suffragan of Bedford; not one of these Bishops was in actual possession of his see, and the Suffragan of Bedford depended for his authority on the allowance or commission of his superior.

"The Queen, therefore, in her Commission to these Prelates, inserted this unusual clause:—

"'Supplentes nihilominus, suprema authoritate nostra regia, ex mero motu ac certa scientia nostris, si quid aut in his, quæ juxta mandatum nostrum prædictum per vos fient, aut in vobis aut vestrum aliquo, conditione, statu, facultate vestris ad præmissa perficienda desit aut deerit eorum, quæ per statuta hujus regni, *aut per leges ecclesiasticas* in hac parte requiruntur, aut necessaria sunt, temporis ratione et rerum necessitate id postulante.'

"To this clause in their Commission the prelates make particular reference in the sentence of confirmation. The election of 'the venerable man, Mr. Matthew Parker, we confirm,' they say, 'by the supreme authority of the said most serene lady, our Queen, committed unto us in this behalf; supplying by the supreme royal authority, of the Queen's mere motion and certain knowledge, delegated to us, all defects in this election, as well in those things done by us, and proceeded with according to the commandment given us, or that are or shall be in ourselves, or in the condition, state, or capacity, of any one of us for this performance.' (Bramh. iii. 202.) Parker was consecrated December 17, 1559, by

Barlow, assisted by Scory, John of Bedford, and Miles Coverdale. Barlow and Scory were afterwards confirmed in their respective bishopries by Parker, whom they had confirmed in his before, and Coverdale never resumed his episcopal functions. Supposing that the consecrators of Parker were themselves Bishops, validly ordained, Parker's consecration was good, *so far as the episcopal character is concerned.* It appears, however, that his consecrators had no authority to consecrate him from any Bishop in the actual use of his jurisdiction: which makes the act *defective in the point of authority.* They had no more right to consecrate an Archbishop of Canterbury, than they had to consecrate one for Milan. In their own right they had none: by delegation from ecclesiastical superiors they had none. But they proceeded to confirm Parker's election by virtue of the Queen's writ; and whatever authority they received thereby, that they conferred on him, they had none other: and so they leave it on record that they confirmed their future Metropolitan under a civil writ, by which their service and condition were made available, and their clear deficiencies duly supplied.

"Whatsoever authority to govern Christian men was received by Parker, that authority, and no more, has he transmitted to his successors; it is now shared by the living Bishops of the Anglican Church, and whatever it be, it was derived" (*i.e.* so far as the question of jurisdiction is concerned) "from the civil power, which he seems to have acknowledged in his act of homage, as we saw before. This consecration was questioned, and doubts were made about it, and the following consecrations, whose validity depends upon it. In order to allay people's perplexities, an Act of Parliament was passed, 8 Elizabeth, c. 1, to pronounce 'That all acts and things heretofore had, made or done by any person or persons in or about any consecration, confirmation, or investing of any person or persons elected to the office or dignity of any Archbishop or Bishop within this realm, or within any other the Queen's Majesty's dominions or countries,

by virtue of the Queen's Majesty's letters patent or commission, since the beginning of her Majesty's reign, be, and shall be by authority of this present parliament, declared, judged and deemed, at and from every of the several times of the doing thereof, good and perfect to all respects and purposes; any matter or thing that can or may be objected to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.'

"If it be within the power of the civil authority to give strength or completeness to what is or ought to be divine, then the confirmation and consecration of Parker cannot be questioned.

"The legislative body of the kingdom has not only decided that the consecrations made according to the form of ordination published in the reign of King Edward VI. shall be good, but has also given some reasons for its sentence. These reasons are, that Henry VIII. had 'the supreme power, jurisdiction, order, rule, and authority over the estate ecclesiastical,' and that the same power was 'annexed to the imperial Crown of this realm,' with which Queen Elizabeth was 'lawfully invested,' who, having in her Majesty's 'order and disposition all the said jurisdictions, powers, and authorities over the estate ecclesiastical and temporal,' had caused divers men to be made Bishops. That she had 'further, for the avoiding of all ambiguities and questions that might be objected against the lawful confirmations, investing, and consecrations of the said Archbishops and Bishops,' not only used such words and sentences as were accustomed to be used in the reigns of her father and brother, 'but also hath used and put in her Majesty's letters patent *divers other general words and sentences*, whereby her Highness, *by her supreme power and authority, hath dispensed with all causes* or doubts of any imperfection or disability that can or may in any wise be objected against the same.' Here we have the meaning of that singular clause to which Barlow and his assistants made such careful reference. The canonical difficulties to Parker's confirmation were removed by a dispensation from the civil power."

Mr. Lewis's next remark seems much to be noted: "Before the consecration of Parker, the English Prelates might perhaps have insisted *on their original jurisdiction*, and, disregarding the statutes, claimed their authority, because they had been duly confirmed by Prelates who had entered canonically into their respective sees. But in this case, there is no shadow of ecclesiastical rule; the confirming Bishops were unconfirmed themselves for eleven days after Parker's confirmation; and on the day of his consecration were not certain that even their election to their bishoprics would be allowed by the Queen. They consecrated Parker, December 17; but the Royal assent to their election was not given till next day. This confirmation of Parker was made by those who had no authority to make it; they were without any recognized jurisdiction. Let it be allowed that he (Barlow) had been duly consecrated; still he was disabled from executing his functions: he and his colleagues had no jurisdiction. On the supposition that they were true Bishops, they had power to administer the sacraments, but in no particular place, nor to any particular persons; they were Bishops, but they had no subjects: all acts of jurisdiction performed by them under these circumstances would be *null* —all acts of their order *irregular*. Supposing them to be true Bishops, nay, to have been consecrated by the Supreme Pontiff himself, and under no canonical disabilities, they could not confer orders which should be valid in respect of execution: as they had no jurisdiction themselves, they could confer none upon Parker, and that defect must still inhere in Parker's successors; time cannot cure it. Original sin is not done away with by our distance from Adam, but by baptism. This defect of jurisdiction in the original consecration cannot be supplied by length of time (quod ab initio nullum est, tractu temporis non convalescit)." *

And as Archbishop Parker's jurisdiction was an emanation from that annexed to the Crown, so the Crown thought fit,

* Notes on the Royal Supremacy, pp. 70–6.

about eighteen years later, to withdraw his jurisdiction from Parker's successor, Grindal. This Prelate was not as zealous as the Queen wished him to be against the Puritans, so she suspended him. In vain did twelve of his Suffragan Bishops petition the Queen for his restoration, in a Latin letter still extant, wherein they assure her Majesty of their undoubted loyalty, by the fact that they should not be allowed to survive her a single day. "Nos, *quos ecclesiæ gubernationi præfecisti*, cum a tua majestate discesserimus, nihil habemus humanum, quod speremus vel ad unum diem posse imminentem cervicibus et capitibus nostris calamitatem avertere."* In vain Convocation pleaded for him; he remained for years suspended, and had at last prepared his resignation, when death carried him off.

This, it may be said, was heat of Tudor blood; but then Charles I., under Laud's guidance, suspended Archbishop Abbot in like fashion. He issued "a commission to sequester Archbishop Abbot from all his ecclesiastical offices and jurisdiction." It ran thus: "Charles, by the grace of God, etc. Know ye that we, reposing special trust and confidence in your approved wisdoms, learning and integrity, have nominated, authorized, and appointed, and do by these presents nominate, authorize, and appoint you, the said George Lord Bishop of London, Richard Lord Bishop of Durham, John Lord Bishop of Rochester, John Lord Bishop of Oxford, and William Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, or any four, three, or two of you, to do, execute, and perform all and every those acts, matters, and things, any way touching or concerning the power, jurisdiction, or authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in causes or matters ecclesiastical, as amply, fully and effectually, to all intents and purposes, as the said Archbishop might have done. And we do hereby command you, and every of you, to attend, perform, and execute this our Royal pleasure in and touching the premises, until we shall declare our will and pleasure to the contrary. And we

* Cardwell, Annals, i. 391.

do further hereby will and command the said Archbishop of Canterbury quietly and without interruption to permit and suffer you, the said George, etc., any four, three, or two of you, to execute and perform this our commission, according to our Royal pleasure thereby signified." *

But the most remarkable act, perhaps, of the Royal Supremacy extant, is the absolving this same Archbishop Abbot, at a former period, from the canonical irregularity of having killed a man by accident, when hunting at Bramzill Park. "The occurrence and its consequences were announced by the Lord Keeper Williams" (then Bishop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbishop of York) "to the Duke of Buckingham in the following manner: 'His Grace, upon this accident, is by the common law of England to forfeit all his estate unto his Majesty; and by the canon law, which is in force with us, irregular *ipso facto*, and so suspended from all ecclesiastical function, until he be again restored by his superior; *which, I take it, is the King's Majesty, in this rank and order of ecclesiastical jurisdictions.*'" "The King," says Bishop Hacket, "saw that whether the person of the Archbishop were tainted by this act or not, yet his metropolitan function was unsettled in many men's opinions; he heard that the acts of spiritual courts were unsped, and came to no end, till sentences were pronounced one way or other *by the supreme authority*. Therefore a commission was directed from his Majesty to ten persons, to meet together for this purpose about the beginning of October." The result of their deliberations was, that the King appointed a commission of Bishops, Andrewes being one of them, and by their means "assoiled the Archbishop from all irregularity, scandal, or infamation, pronouncing him to be capable to use all metropolitical authority." † The Royal decree runs: "De gratia nostra speciali, et ex auctoritate nostra regia suprema et ecclesiastica qua fungimur,—plenam concedimus facultatem et potestatem per præsentes,—quatenus—cum præfato reverendissimo patre superomni et omni-

* Cardwell, Annals, ii. 165–8. † Ibid. ii. 136.

modo juris vel facti defectu, censura, sive pœna aliqua canonica et ecclesiastica, præsertim vero irregularitate omni, seu irregularitatis nota, (si quæ forsitan ratione præmissorum contracta fuit, vel quibusdam contracta esse videantur,) utque in susceptis ordinibus et jurisdictionibus secundum concreditam sibi ratione ordinis et archiepiscopatus sui potestatem libere ministrare, frui, exercere, et gaudere valeat, ad majorum cautelam dispensetis." *

What boots it, after this, to mention the deposition of Archbishop Sancroft by Queen Mary II., or the numberless acts of modern times erecting bishoprics, altering the jurisdictions of existing bishoprics, naming commissions to which supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the whole Church for certain purposes is given, appointing a supreme court for heresy, and in one case, which is without a parallel, assigning Syria, Chaldea, Egypt, and Abyssinia to be the limits of the "spiritual jurisdiction" of a certain Bishop. These acts in former times were not reputed tyrannical, at least the Church herself never complained of them, and they have been borne very patiently in the present day, until at last the supreme ecclesiastical court—deriving its jurisdiction from the civil power—has thought fit to annul an article of the Creed. There is then no other way of interpreting the acts of three hundred years, manifold as they are, and yet stamped with one aspect, but this, that they have indeed their proper rationale, which is, that the supremacy of spiritual jurisdiction over the Church, by many Christians supposed to have been conferred by our Lord on St. Peter and his successors, has, so far as regards the British dominions, been transferred by Act of Parliament, or, as others say, in virtue of a prerogative always latent in the crown—though why in this rather than in other crowns does not appear—to the Sovereign for the time being of these realms.

* Collier, ix. 378, who observes *in loco*, "By this instrument, the Canons, in case there was need, are overruled and dispensed with. The force of Abbot's character was revived, and he is fully restored to the exercises of his functions. This is a wonderful relief from the Crown! and supposes a Patriarchal at least, if not a Papal authority, vested in the King."—Vol. vii. p. 418.

Section VII.—Spiritual Jurisdiction "in foro interno."

II. Let us now proceed to say a few words on the other division of the power of spiritual Jurisdiction, that *in foro interno*.

Jurisdiction *in foro interno* is the lawful use of the power of remitting sins upon the confession of them. This power *itself*, as we have seen above, is part of the power of Order, which theologians divide into two, that which is over the true Body of Christ to consecrate it, and that which is over the mystical Body of Christ for the sanctification of the faithful and their deliverance from sin.

But though this power is in itself a part of Order, and of the sacerdotal character, which is indelible, as being given by consecration, yet *the lawful exercise* of this power belongs to Jurisdiction. For, by the words used at the consecration of a priest, "Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins thou dost remit, they are remitted, and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained," a true power is given of itself, and in its own order, sufficient to remit the sins of those put under him, when he has them; but by these words jurisdiction or subjects are not given. The power, in its own nature, stretches to the absolution of all, and therefore these words of our Lord, repeated by the Bishop in his person, are so indeterminate and universal; but the use of that power is limited according to the jurisdiction possessed by the Priest, and this must come by a further grant from his superior.

We are in practice very familiar with this distinction; *e.g.* a man is ordained a Priest by a Bishop, and from that time forth he is as much a Priest as any one can be, yet he can perform no priestly act involving spiritual jurisdiction, without cure of souls, delegated to him either permanently, or at least during the performance of that act. A Bishop who had resigned a colonial see was lately resident in a country parish, yet, though superior in power of Order to the parish

Priest, he could perform no one act in that parish involving Jurisdiction save by the permission of the parish Priest.

Or, again, the analogy of temporal government will illustrate this law of the divine commonwealth. A man holds the rank of Captain in the navy, as another does that of Priest; but as the former does not therefore hold a right to command any particular ship, or seaman, without a special commission thereto, which may continue or be withdrawn, without affecting his rank as Captain, so neither has the latter authority to exercise the power of the keys over this or that person unless he has legitimate jurisdiction, *i.e.* the office of a spiritual superior, over him.

Even the material key can only open its proper lock, nor can any active virtue take effect save on its proper matter. Now, a person is made the proper matter of the power of Order by means of Jurisdiction, and so no one can use the keys upon one over whom he has no jurisdiction.

According to all this, for absolution from sin after sacramental confession a twofold power is required, the power of Order and the power of Jurisdiction. The first is equally in all Priests, but not the second, which descends from superiors to inferiors, and must be used according to the limitation imposed by the superior.

And there is another most important distinction between acts flowing from Order and acts flowing from Jurisdiction. Acts flowing from Order, though done wrongly and illicitly, are yet, when done, *valid*; but acts flowing from Jurisdiction, if done upon those over whom the doer has no jurisdiction, are absolutely *invalid* and *null*. So that all absolution pronounced by a Priest over a person not spiritually subject to him, is utterly without force. And a person cannot make himself subject to another at his own will, for this power descends from above, and does not ascend from below.

Let us see the effect of this. A Bishop has jurisdiction over his own diocese: he imparts a portion of that jurisdiction to every Priest to whom he gives the cure of souls:

and in that cure of souls are comprised all means necessary for their well-being, of which the hearing confessions and giving absolution is assuredly one. Consequently all parish Priests may be said to have ordinary jurisdiction for this purpose *over their own flock*, but not over others.

Again, a Bishop may delegate such power of using the keys to any Priest over any, or over all, persons in his diocese; for they being his own spiritual subjects, he can impart a portion of the pastoral care over them to any person duly qualified, *i.e.* by sacerdotal orders, whom he pleases.

But in default of either ordinary or delegated jurisdiction, a priest cannot, by the mere power of Order, hear confession and give absolution; and if he does so, his absolution will be *null* and *void*.

These are not rules and principles of the modern Church, or of the Western Church, merely, but of the ancient and the Catholic Church. For many hundred years this power of absolution seems to have been exercised immediately by the Bishop, or by Priests living in common with him, and under his immediate superintendence. And when, in process of time, the Bishop communicated a part of his pastoral charge to Priests living at a distance from him, this law of jurisdiction was universally observed.

Now all power which cannot issue into act save on the presupposition of certain rules, depends on the power which makes those rules. But the Priest cannot absolve and bind unless the jurisdiction of a superior in him be presupposed, by which those whom he absolves are subject to him. But he may consecrate any matter determinated to that end by Christ, nor is anything more for this required of the necessity of the sacrament.

But one exception there is to this necessity of jurisdiction, by the universal practice of the Church from the beginning, or rather in this particular case the practice has given the jurisdiction, viz., that any Priest may absolve a penitent *in articulo mortis*.

All this doctrine may be summed up thus. All spiritual power of the sacerdotal character is given together with a certain consecration, and therefore the keys are given with Order; but the use of the keys requires its proper matter, which is a people made subject by jurisdiction, and therefore one, before he has jurisdiction, has the keys, but has not the act of using them.

A consequence of this is, that while in all schismatics, heretics, excommunicated, suspended, or degraded persons, the *power* of the keys remains as to its *essence*, yet the *use* of the keys is barred through defect of matter. For, the use of the keys requiring superiority in the user over him on whom it is used, the proper matter on which the use of the keys is exercised is a spiritual subject; and since it is through the order of the Church that one is subject to another, therefore a former subject may be subtracted from his obedience by those who have the rule in the Church. Whence, as the Church deprives heretics, schismatics, and such like, by withdrawing their subjects, either simply or partially, so far as they are deprived they cannot have the use of the keys.

Section VIII.—Bearing of the Royal Supremacy on all this.

And now for the bearing of the Royal Supremacy on all this. We have seen how it seized upon and appropriated the full Papal Supremacy as to Jurisdiction *in foro externo;* did it also lay claim to Jurisdiction *in foro interno?* My belief is, that it troubled itself very little about the matter, and, considering it as depending on the power of Order, which it is, and on that alone, which it is not, was willing enough that, so long as the whole outward jurisdiction was allowed to flow from itself, the inward might accompany those whom it selected for its agents. I suppose, moreover, that for fifty years after Elizabeth's accession sacramental confession was very little practised in the Church of England; by some *âmes*

d'élite, like Hooker's, perhaps, but never by the mass of Christ's poor. When, in the times of James and Charles, our divines had risen to higher notions of the Church and its functions, they supposed this power of inward spiritual jurisdiction to reside in Bishops and Priests.

But in the mean time a certain consequence had not been heeded. The supreme power which bestows one part of jurisdiction bestows the other likewise. Thus, if the civil power take a county from one see and give it to another, not only the power of external jurisdiction but that of internal likewise is thus attempted to be conveyed from one person to another —one Bishop to another. For the parish Priests derive their jurisdiction from the Bishop, and the Bishop from the power that gave him such a county for a part of his see; and if that power have by the law of God and the grant of Christ no authority to convey spiritual jurisdiction at all to the Bishop, it will follow that all spiritual acts involving jurisdiction done in such county are null and void.

Looking therefore at Christ's kingdom as a real thing, not a state creation, not an engine of temporal government, not a toy for statesmen to play with, nor a treasury from which they are to draw rewards for their followers (oh, shame and unspeakable disgrace that such things can be said, and so truly said, that the mere saying them sounds like a libel on existing powers!)—looking at Christ's Church once more, as His kingdom, not *of* this world but *in* it, nothing less than inextricable confusion, than the rendering dubious all spiritual powers most necessary for the soul's good, than the reducing minds in proportion as they are tender and conscientious into the uttermost doubt about all holy things,—can arise from the claim of the civil power anywhere to be the source of spiritual jurisdiction.

That claim—let us as Englishmen, as Christians, think of it well—exists now, and in past time has existed in one communion only on the face of the earth calling itself Christian, viz., the Anglican Church, and on the part of one Sovereign

only calling himself Christian, the Sovereign named the Defender of the Faith.

Let us see the two main grounds on which it is based:

1. It is based on the denial that the Church of Christ is one mystical body—one simple kingdom dispersed throughout the whole world, governed by spiritual officers, who derive their title and their power so to govern from the express grant of our Lord to His Apostles.

Instead of this it mixes up the Church of Christ in each nation where it may be locally situate with the order and jurisdiction of temporal government: yet these are two things in their end, their origin, and their subjects essentially distinct, as has been shown.

The highest notion of the Church to which it rises would seem to be that of the synagogue under the old law. Now, the Jewish Church was national only, and therefore no standard for a Catholic Church; and again, it was typical, both its Kings and its Priests prefiguring, in their office and functions, our Lord: so that to argue from the power of godly Kings in Israel to the like power of godly Kings in the Church of Christ, would be, as has well been said, to overlook the fact that our Lord has come in the flesh, and has taken up into His own Person both the priesthood of Aaron, and the royal power of David, and derived forth from that Person, for the government of His Church, a new power embracing both, according to the quotation from St. Epiphanius given above.

2. It is based on the further similar denial that there is any proper priesthood in the Church of Christ, and therefore any special power to govern it, beyond that which is in the civil magistrate, or in any community by right of nature, for the preservation of order.

It seems indeed, but only seems, to escape from this by urging the distinction between actions requiring the power of Order, and those requiring only Jurisdiction. It is said that the Sovereign may exercise every act of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by himself, and has, unto this, supreme power, and

so that this is sufficient for him to hold a spiritual primacy, though he cannot exercise of himself the other actions which require a power of Order. But this is especially opposed to Christ's institution; for it was His will that the Church should be ruled by those whom He made the chief ministers of the word of God and of the sacraments, that is by Bishops, in whom the power of Order exists in excellency. Moreover, it is sufficiently absurd for the Church's supreme governor not to be able to exercise in his own person the chief acts which are directed, not only to the worship of God, but to the sanctification of the faithful. For in civil government inferior magistrates can do nothing in respect to that which their power has for its end, which the Sovereign cannot do in higher degree in order to the same end. Much more then, in the Christian commonwealth, ecclesiastical power, whether of Order or Jurisdiction, being directed to a spiritual end and the sanctification of souls, these two powers ought to be so arranged in reference to each other as to be joined in the supreme head of the Church in all their perfection and excellency.

If these are the *grounds*, what are the *results?*

I have supposed throughout that the orders of the Church of England are valid, and untouched by the operation of the Royal Supremacy—for this is another and a very difficult question, and I wish to take only what is indubitable; but if unto the right use of Orders valid Jurisdiction is required, for the Archbishop as Primate, for the Bishop as Diocesan, for the parish Priest as Incumbent, for sinful souls who need absolving, for anxious souls who need comforting, and for God's blessing on all acts of Christian ministry,—and if acts flowing from jurisdiction, but done without jurisdiction, which as much *by the Word of God* as by the tradition of the Church comes from the grant of Christ and not from the temporal power—if such acts are absolutely *null* and *invalid*,—I leave for others to trace in this respect the result of the Royal Supremacy on the Church of England.

One other result must be briefly mentioned. Supremacy of spiritual jurisdiction carries with it necessarily the right and the burden of supreme judgment as to doctrine. The Act of 1 Elizabeth, c. 1, mentions the power of naming commissioners to judge of heresies—those who judge of heresies must define truth: and Hooker is careful to say, after mentioning heresy, "Whatever any spiritual authority or power hath done or might heretofore have done for the remedy of these evils in lawful sort, as much in every degree our laws have fully granted that the King for ever may do, not only by setting ecclesiastical synods on work, that the thing may be their act and the King their motion unto it, but by commissioners few or many, who having the King's letters patent may in the virtue thereof execute the premises as agent, in the right not of their own peculiar and ordinary but of his supereminent power." Thus the Sovereign is not bound to act by Synod or Convocation—why should he? It was the very idea of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth to put the supremacy in his single person—his confirmation alone gives their force to canon or dogma, according to this idea. In short, the *clavis potentiæ* and the *clavis scientiæ*—the universal power of government in Christ's Church, the power to rule, to distribute, suspend, or restore jurisdiction, and the power to define verities of the faith and to interpret Holy Scripture—this power, with liberty to exercise it "by commissioners few or many," and, it may be added, lay or clerical, believers or unbelievers, has descended by Act of Parliament, or a prerogative inherent in their crown and quite unique in the history of the world, together with their ample temporal dominion, on the shoulders of the Kings and Queens of England.

But what is the effect of this on the status of the Church of England? It is that the actual bond of her existence—her characteristic as a religious communion—that which makes her a whole—is the right of the civil power, now lately exercised, to be the supreme judge of her doctrine.

II.

THE SEE OF ST. PETER,

THE ROCK OF THE CHURCH,

THE SOURCE OF JURISDICTION,

AND

THE CENTRE OF UNITY.

DEDICATION OF FIRST EDITION.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE,

M.P. FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

My dear Sir,

In a pamphlet, of which you did me the honour to send me a copy a few weeks ago, you mentioned, "with surprise and much grief," an assertion of mine, that in the time of Henry VIII. the See of Rome was both "the source and centre of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction," and therefore "the supreme judge of doctrine." The assertion was not made by me lightly and offhand. I knew what an immense body of proof existed for it; and I had too much respect for you not to wish to bring at least such a portion of that proof as the time allowed before your notice. I trust, therefore, you will permit me to dedicate to you what has arisen in fact out of an observation of your own.

I am, my dear Sir, with great respect,
Your faithful Servant,
THOS. W. ALLIES.

Launton; *Sept.*, 1850.

DEDICATION OF SECOND EDITION.

TO HIS HOLINESS

POPE PIUS THE NINTH

Is most humbly offered this edition of a work, which, on its first appearance, had the honour of being translated and circulated by his order.

London,
Feast of the Immaculate Conception, 1854.

CONTENTS.

SECTION		PAGE
I.	The Primacy of St. Peter an Existing Power	139
II.	The Scriptural Proof of the Primacy	150
III.	The End and Office of the Primacy	168
IV.	The Power of the Primacy	181
V.	The Church's Witness to the Primacy	199
	1. A General Supremacy in the Roman See over the whole Church; a Supremacy exactly the same in principle with that which is now claimed	203
	2. The grounding of this Supremacy on the attribution of Matt. xvi 18, Luke xxii. 31, and John xxi. 15, in a special sense to the Pope as successor of St. Peter	220
	3. The original derivation of Episcopal Jurisdiction from the person of Peter, and its perpetual fountain in the See of Rome as representing him	220
	4. The Papal Supremacy over the East acknowledged by its own rulers and Councils before the separation	237
	5. The Pope's attitude to Councils as indicating his rank ...	243
	6. His Confirmation of Councils	245
	7. The necessity of Communion with the Pope	248
VI.	St. Peter's Primacy, and the Royal Supremacy ...	253
VII.	The Effects of St. Peter's Primacy, and of the Royal Supremacy	265

PREFACE.

Some years ago the writer, already in great distress of mind at the historical and actual position of the Anglican Church, at the statements of her formularies, at the want of shape and principle in her practice, and, above all, at her general character and temperament as a communion, which seemed to him thoroughly alien from the spirit of the ancient Fathers, betook himself to the special consideration of one point,—the Primacy of the Roman See,—which he thought more calculated than any other to lead him to a sure conclusion. He was then, as he is now, "convinced that the whole question between the Roman Church and ourselves, as well as the Eastern Church, turns upon the Papal Supremacy, as at present claimed, being of divine right, or not. *If it be*, then we have nothing else to do but submit ourselves to the authority of Rome; and better it were to do so before we meet the attack, which is close at hand, of an enemy who bears equal hatred to ourselves and Rome—the predicted Lawless One, the Logos, reason, or private judgment of apostate humanity rising up against the Divine Logos, incarnate in His Church."

The writer, moreover, then professed, that "he took up this inquiry for the purpose of satisfying his own mind;" that "had he found the Councils and Fathers of the Church, before the division of the East and West, bearing witness *to* the Roman Supremacy, as at present claimed, instead of *against* it, *he should have felt bound to obey them*:" and that,

"as a Priest of the Church Catholic in England, he desires to hold, and to the best of his ability will teach, all doctrine which the undivided Church always held."*

He made these professions in the simplicity, it is true, but likewise in the sincerity, of his heart; and he made them publicly before God and man. Now, the conclusion to which he was at that time led by the study of antiquity, was, that a Primacy† of divine institution had indeed been given to the See of Peter, but that the degree to which it had been pressed in later times formed an excuse for those communions which, *while they maintained the Catholic faith whole and entire*, were *de facto* severed from it.

Thus he made these professions when he thought that they led him to one conclusion; but he is equally bound to redeem them now that in the course of years they have led him to another.

For though his study of the question terminated for the moment at this point, yet the Supremacy claimed by St. Peter's See over the whole Church was a subject never out of his thoughts. And in the mean time what he saw of the actual state of the Roman Communion in other lands, of the principles on which it was based, and of the fruits which it produced, deeply moved and affected him. That Communion seemed in full possession of the great sacerdotal and sacramental system for which earnest Anglicans were vainly struggling, as well as of that religious unity, the name of which in an Anglican mouth sounded like a mockery, amid the deep contradictions both as to principles and as to practice, which are equally tolerated and supported by the Establishment. When, just at this moment, that one only doctrine of all those

* "The Church of England cleared from the Charge of Schism."—Advertisement.

† This is admitted in p. 313, p. 315, and pp. 490, 491, of the second edition of the above-mentioned work. The author ought to have seen what it involved; for no *abuse*, even could such be proved to exist, would warrant men in rejecting what is of *divine* institution. This was once put to him in a very forcible way by a much-valued friend, "if God has instituted Baptism, men would not be justified in rejecting it, even if the Church were to administer it with spittle."

mooted at the Reformation, which had appeared to him to be as unquestionably taught at least by the formularies of the Anglican Church, as by the ancient Church—the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration—was brought before the tribunal of the Court of Arches, and thence carried, by appeal, to the Queen in Council.

This fact first brought home to the writer the real nature of the Royal Supremacy. Up to that time, without having accurately looked into that power, he had supposed it to be *practically* indeed a great tyranny over the Church subject to it, but *in principle* only "a supreme civil power over all persons and causes in temporal things, and over the temporal accidents of spiritual things."* But the more he considered it in its origin, and with reference to the power which it supplanted and succeeded, and in its exercise during three hundred years, and in its whole tone and demeanour to the communion over which it was "supreme governor," the more painfully he became convinced that such a limitation, desirable as it might be to quiet the consciences of Churchmen, was *as a fact* quite untenable. He felt that at his Anglican ordination as Deacon and as Priest, and subsequently, he had taken an oath of obedience to a power, the nature and bearing of which he did not then at all comprehend,—a power which, the moment he came to comprehend it, seemed to be utterly opposed to every principle which he held dear as a Churchman, and to contradict as much the relation of the Church to the State which is set forth in the Holy Scriptures, as the teaching of the Fathers and the acts of General Councils,—a power which had no parallel in all historical Christianity up to the very time of its enactment, and which not merely enthralled, but destroyed, the continuous life of the Church. For he found that Supremacy of the civil power to consist in a supreme jurisdiction over the Establishment in matters both of faith and of discipline, and in the derivation

* So stated in the circular put forth by Archdeacons Manning and Wilberforce, and Dr. Mill.

of Episcopal mission and jurisdiction—not as to their *origin* indeed, but as to their *exercise*—from the Crown or the nation. The writer at once felt that he must repudiate either that Supremacy, or every notion of the Church—that is, the one divinely constituted Society, to which the possession of the truth is guaranteed, and which has a continuous mission from our Lord for the spiritual government of souls, and the building up that humanity which He redeemed "to the measure of the stature of the perfect man." The Royal Supremacy, and the Church of God, are two ideas absolutely incompatible and contradictory.

But my heart, my soul, my conscience, and no less my reason, every power and principle within me, were longing, sighing, thirsting for the Church of God, "the pillar and the ground of the truth."

Any decision to which the Queen in Council might come was unimportant in my sight in comparison to the fact that the Queen in Council had the power of deciding in matters of doctrine.

Thus I felt before the decision came out; but when it came out there was added a sense of shame, of degradation, and of infamy, which had never before oppressed me, in that I belonged to a communion of which the supreme tribunal, when called upon to declare whether, by its existing rule of doctrine, infants were or were not regenerated by God in holy Baptism, decided neither that they were nor that they were not, but that the Clergy might believe and teach either one or the other, or both indifferently.

And I felt thus because *any* error and *any* heresy are innocent and innocuous compared to the tenet that error and heresy are indifferent; and *any* legal decision, however erroneous, is *honourable*, compared to that which pronounces it equally lawful to believe and teach that God the Holy Ghost is given, and that He is not given, to a child by a certain act.

Nor can I regard the institution of Mr. Gorham by the Court, and at the fiat, of the Archbishop of Canterbury, under

the decree of Her Majesty, as Supreme Governor of the Anglican Church, to be anything else but a public profession, that the Anglican Church is founded on the most dishonest compromise—one which involves the denial of the whole Christian faith, and the practical establishment of unlimited Latitudinarianism.*

And yet I could not but acknowledge that the power which makes this decision is one fully competent to make it. It is that power to which the Anglican Church first submitted itself in 1534, and finally in 1559. It is the power under which it has lived three hundred years, and by whose grant it holds all its property. It is the power to which, during all that time, its Clergy have sworn obedience, as "Supreme Governor;" and the nature of Supremacy is, that what is subject to it cannot call it in question. It is the power which not only nominates, but institutes, Bishops; erects, divides, alters, and extinguishes, bishoprics; causes Convocation to be summoned, or not to be summoned; to transact, or not to transact

* Because, "to admit the lawfulness of holding an exposition of an Article of the Creed, contradictory of the essential meaning of that Article, is in truth and in fact to abandon that Article;" and, "inasmuch as the Faith is one, and rests upon one principle of authority, the conscious, deliberate, and wilful abandonment of the essential meaning of an Article of the Creed, destroys the divine foundation upon which alone the entire Faith is propounded by the Church;" and, "any portion of the Church, which does so abandon the essential meaning of an Article of the Creed, forfeits not only the Catholic doctrine in that Article, but also the office and authority to witness and teach as a member of the Universal Church."

Propositions signed by thirteen most distinguished names:—

H. E. Manning, M.A., *Archdeacon of Chichester.*
Robert J. Wilberforce, M.A., *Archdeacon of the East Riding.*
Thomas Thorp, B.D., *Archdeacon of Bristol.*
W. H. Mill, D.D., *Regius Professor of Hebrew, Cambridge.*
E. B. Pusey, D.D., *Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford.*
John Keble, M.A., *Vicar of Hursley.*
W. Dodsworth, M.A., *Perpetual Curate of Christ Church, St. Pancras.*
W. J. E. Bennett, M.A., *Perpetual Curate of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge.*
H. W. Wilberforce, M.A., *Vicar of East Farleigh.*
John C. Talbot, M.A., *Barrister-at-law.*
Richard Cavendish, M.A.
Edward Badeley, M.A., *Barrister-at-law.*
James R. Hope, D.C.L., *Barrister-at-law.*

business; confirms, or does not confirm its acts; and in short, the power which constitutes the distinctive character of the Anglican Communion, as to its government, making it to differ both from the Catholic Church, and all Protestant sects. Lastly, it is the power which alone makes it a whole, the Cathedra Petri of Anglicanism.

For all these reasons, it is a power which binds the Anglican Church, its Clergy, and its Laity, as a whole and as individuals; and, accordingly, a power by the rightness or wrongness of whose decision in matters of faith the conscience of every one in that communion, and his state before God, is touched.

Now, to submit to this particular decision, I must resign every principle of faith as a Christian, as well as every feeling of honour as a freeman;—I would as soon sacrifice to Jupiter, or worship Buddha, or, again, take my faith from the civil power;—and to remain in the Anglican Communion is to submit to it.

But in the mean time the nearer consideration of the Royal Supremacy had opened my mind to comprehend the nature of its great antagonist, the Primacy of St. Peter's See. For, as has been said, the former consists in supremacy of jurisdiction, whether viewed as deciding in the last resort upon doctrine, and this as well legislatively, by giving licence to summon convocation, and by confirming its acts, as judicially, in matters of appeal; or as giving mission and authority to exercise their powers to all Bishops. Now, it was plain that such a supremacy must exist somewhere in every system. And immediately there followed the question, What is that *somewhere* in the Church Catholic? I could not even imagine any answer, save that it was St. Peter's Chair. And then I saw that the contest in Church history really lay not between Ultramontane and Gallican opinions, but between the liberty, independence, and spirituality of Christ's Church on the one hand, or its being made a servile instrument of State government on the other: between a divine and a human

Church. And now I went over again the testimonies of antiquity which I had before put together, and many others besides, and I found that one or two confusions and incoherencies of mind—especially the not understanding accurately the distinction between powers of Order and powers of Jurisdiction, and their consequences—had alone prevented my seeing, not merely a Primacy of divine institution, but how full, complete, and overwhelming was the testimony of the Church before the division of the East and West to the Supremacy of St. Peter's See, *as at present claimed*, the very same, and no other. I had it proved to me by the evidence of unnumbered witnesses, that the charge of such Supremacy being originated by the false decretals of Isidore Mercator was a most groundless, I fear also, a most malignant and treacherous imputation. And, moreover, I felt convinced that those who deny the Papal Supremacy must, if they are honest men, cease to study history, or at least begin their acquaintance with Christianity at the sixteenth century. Also that they must be content with a dead Church, and no Creed.

When I had come to this conclusion, it became a matter of absolute necessity and conscience to *act* upon it, to resign my office and function of teaching in the Anglican Church, and not only so, but to leave that communion itself, in which, so far from being able "to hold and teach all doctrine which the undivided Church always held," I could no longer teach, save as an "open question" (from which degradation may God preserve me !), that very primary doctrine which stands at the commencement of the spiritual life.

I leave therefore the Anglican Communion, not simply because it is involved in heresy * by the decision of Her

* See Archdeacon Manning's last pamphlet: "If there be, therefore, such a thing as material heresy, it is the doctrine which has now received the sanction of the law" (p. 43). But the Anglican Episcopate has met upon this doctrine, considered, and *done nothing*; and so, *as a whole*, accepts it: nor has the Church, *as a whole*, rejected it; only individuals have protested, and this in a far smaller number than those who have acquiesced in it. What is wanting to make it, as respects the communion itself, not only material, but formal heresy?

Majesty in Council, but because that Royal Supremacy, in virtue of which Her Majesty decides at all in matters of doctrine, is a power utterly incompatible with the existence of the Church of God, and because Anglicanism, as a whole, has not only tampered with and corrupted the entire body of doctrine which concerns the Church and the Sacraments, but, as a living system, is based upon the denial of that Primacy of St. Peter's See to which I find Holy Scripture and the Church of the East and West bearing witness; and which I believe, on their authority, to have been established by Christ Himself as the Rock and immovable foundation of His Church, her safeguard from heresy and dissolution.

My last act as an Anglican, and my last *duty* to Anglicanism, is to set forth, as I do in the following treatise, what has induced me to leave it.

THE SEE OF ST. PETER, ETC.

Section I.—The Primacy of St. Peter an Existing Power.

Christianity is now more than eighteen hundred years old, and when we look around we find it planted, and more or less flourishing, among all the nations of the earth which are conspicuous for their power, their knowledge, and their civilization. This common term Christianity distinguishes them broadly, but decisively, from all other nations outside of its pale. But a second glance makes it necessary to analyze this term itself; for it shows a great variety of differences in the religious belief and spiritual government of those whom we have thus classed together. About two-thirds in number of all calling themselves Christians are closely united under one head, whom they believe to be of divine institution, namely, the Bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Peter, and in one belief and one communion, of which that Bishop is the special bond. Of the remaining third part two-thirds, again, profess a belief very nearly, save in one point, identical with the former, but distinguished in that they do not now acknowledge the Bishop of Rome as the bond of their unity, though they freely admit that he once stood at the head of that patriarchal system of government which they still maintain. These form the Oriental communion, embracing the Greek and Russian Churches. Of other Eastern sects it is not necessary here to speak. The rest,

forming the other third of this latter third, or one-ninth, numerically, of all Christians, may be classed together as the Protestant, or Anglo-German phase of Christianity. Most deeply opposed, in many of their tenets, and in their whole tone of thinking and feeling, to the last-mentioned communion, they yet agree with it in rejecting the headship of St. Peter's successor, and indeed are wont to add every contumelious epithet which language can supply to the claim of authority which he puts forth and exercises. Not, however, that this Anglo-German Christianity is united itself as to its spiritual government, or even as to its belief. For, whereas in England, and partly in America, it is governed by Bishops, in Prussia and Scotland, and again in the United States, it has thrown off such control. Nor, again, that its component portions have one creed, for it has been found impossible to draw up articles of belief to which they could all agree. Nevertheless, this Anglo-German Christianity may be called one mass, for it broke off, or at least was severed, at the same time, from the great communion first mentioned, which still acknowledges the headship of St. Peter's successor. And with many minor diversities and gradations it has in common certain fundamental principles; such as the entire rejection, in some portions of it, and in others the attenuation, of the doctrine of Sacramental Grace, and in all, the maiming of that great sacramental system to which all the rest of Christianity adheres: and again, which is a part of the above, a denial that the spiritual government of the Church is lodged by a divine succession in certain *persons*. This idea, in some of its portions, as in Prussia, and in the Protestant sects of America, is utterly rejected; in others, as the Anglican Church, made an open question, it being notorious that part of its clergy consider such a notion a corruption of Christianity, while part as warmly maintain it to be necessary for the Church's existence. Again, all are united in rejecting the Roman view of the great mystery of the Real Presence, and of that reverence to saints, which flows forth from it,

such as the ascription of miraculous effects to their relics, and of so prevailing a power in their intercessions, that they may lawfully and profitably be asked to pray for us. Perhaps this peculiarity of mind may be summed up in its most remarkable instance. For whereas that before-mentioned great Roman Communion, and no less the Eastern, is distinguished by a very special and wholly singular love and reverence towards the most Blessed Virgin Mary, as the mother of God our Saviour;—whereas all hearts within it are so penetrated with the thought of her divine maternity, that they cannot behold our Lord in His infancy, without seeing Him borne in His mother's arms; nor gaze upon Him suffering on the cross, without the thought of His mother transfixed with sorrow at His feet—so that He and she are indivisibly bound together, on earth in the days of His flesh, in heaven at the right hand of God; and the mystery of our redemption, completely accomplished in Him, yet enfolds her as the instrument of His incarnation, has an office and a function for her;—whereas these are daily household thoughts and the dearest of all sympathies, in minds of the Roman and Eastern Communion, the Anglo-German phase of Christianity is quite united in looking upon this reverence and love to the Blessed Virgin as dangerous, and tending to idolatry, and derogatory to our Lord.

On the whole, then, we may set down the actually existing Christianity as divided into three great portions:—

The Roman Catholic, united in government and belief, and comprehending two-thirds of the whole;

The Oriental with the Russian, and the sects parted from it;

The Protestant, or Anglo-German.

At this moment, then, a variety of nations, having the most various worldly interests, and the most distinct national, moral, and political character, are united in acknowledging, as the head of their religion, the successor of St. Peter, the Bishop of Rome. And after all the divisions and conflicts of

Christianity within itself, two-thirds of all professing it are still of one mind, and more than one hundred and sixty millions of souls, by the confession of an adversary, see, in the divine framework of the visible Church which holds them together, one mainspring and motive power, controlling and harmonizing all the rest: in the circle which embraces them and the world, one centre, St. Peter's See, the throne of the Fisherman, built by the Carpenter's Son.

The Anglican Church professes a belief in episcopacy; it is not unworthy of its attention, that of about eleven hundred Bishops now in the world (admitting the claim of one hundred of Anglican descent), eight hundred own allegiance to the Pope. If a General Council could sit, there would be no doubt on which side the vast majority would be.

If nations could represent the Church, as at the Council of Constance, there would be as little uncertainty in the result.

Such is the aspect of things in the present day; but Christianity numbers more than eighteen hundred years. "Remember the days of old: consider the years of many generations. Ask thy father, and he will show thee: thy elders, and they will tell thee." Of eighteen hundred years let us go back three hundred and fifty, from 1850 to 1500.

Where is the Anglo-German phase of Christianity? What nations did it number? What powers of the world did it set in motion? *It was yet to come.* Its principles, indeed, had lurked in the restless mind of Wickliffe; had seemed, and but seemed, to expire in the ashes of Huss. It was darkly and mistily agitating unquiet thoughts in England and Germany, flying, like a bird of ill omen, round the proud towers of the Church of God, or festering in corners of corruption over high powers misused. But in fixed shape and consistency, as yet *it was not.* That which now claims to be the pure and reformed Church *had no existence.* The Anglo-Saxon mind had been formed and grown up under the control of St. Peter's See: and the country of Luther still with one voice reverenced

that Winifred, who, from the island won to the cross by St. Gregory, went forth to his successor, begged his Apostolic blessing, and planted in Mayence the crosier which he had received from Rome. The Churches of Germany and England owed to the Papal See their whole organization, and had subsisted, the one for eight hundred, the other for nine hundred years, under that fostering power. The claim which Germany and England now reject was then written on every page of the ecclesiastical legislation of those countries. Their first Metropolitans had received their jurisdiction from the Pope; the diocese of every German and English Bishop had been defined by the Pope; the institution of every Bishop to his see had been received from the Pope; and, at the most awful moment of his life, every spiritual ruler had sworn that he would uphold the see of St. Peter, and its occupant, "principem episcopalis coronæ." *

Go back but three centuries and a half, and this ninth part of Christianity—this busy, prying, restless mind, which criticizes everything, and believes nothing; pulls down, but never builds up; analyzes the principle of life, and by the dissection kills it—which treats the Holy Scripture as the ploughboy treated the watch, pulls it to pieces to look at its mechanism, and then wonders that it will not go; which grudges to men even the Apostles' Creed, and will not let them hold that there is one baptism for the remission of sins, but on condition that they communicate with those who deny it; this spirit which, in its most advanced development, casts Christianity itself into the alembic, and makes it come out a volatile essence of pantheism;—in one word, Protestantism *was not.*

Thus those, who most bitterly reject the Papal Supremacy as a usurpation of late times, are found themselves to have begun to exist ages after the supposed corruption which they denounce.

But there are older, more consistent, more dignified

* Edict of the Emperor Valentinian, A.D. 445.

deniers of the Pope's claim, than those who date from the Reformation.

To meet these, let us go back, instead of three hundred and fifty, a thousand years. In the year 850, not only Italy, and Spain, and Gaul, and Britain, and Germany, but the Roman Empire of the east, the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and their subject Bishops and people, acknowledged St. Peter's successor, without a doubt and without a murmur, as "chief pastor of the Church which is under Heaven." * I shall have occasion to bring forward presently testimonies from the highest authorities among them, and from their Bishops assembled in Ecumenical Council; testimonies of the complete obedience which they yielded to the Pope's supremacy, as well in matters of faith as of discipline.

But in 850 modern Europe was at least in part constituted —the foundations of present legislation had been laid—some thrones, still existing, had been raised; the north had cast forth its hordes whom the Church was moulding into empires, and out of freemen making legislators: Charlemagne had been crowned Emperor of the Romans before St. Peter's shrine, by the hands of St. Peter's successor, and Alfred was just about to receive his first education at Rome under St. Leo the Fourth. Let us go back another five hundred years, into that old Roman civilization, when the children of Constantine sat on his throne, and Athanasius was being tried for his faith. A General Council is assembled at Sardica, A.D. 347, and it recognizes St. Peter's successor as in full, time-honoured possession of his supreme power. It directs, not as a new thing, nor as the recognition of a new power, but what was "best and most fitting," as being in accordance with all ancient usage, that all Bishops, in case of difficulty, "should refer *to the head*, that is, *the see of the Apostle Peter.*"

And the first Council in which the whole Church was represented, the Nicene Council, famous to all ages, stated,

* St. Theodore Studites, Abbot of Constantinople. Baronius, A.D. 809, n. 14.

not as granting a favour, but bearing witness to a fact, and acknowledging a power existing from the very first, without attempting to define it—for indeed that power was neither derived from its gift, nor subject to its control—"the Roman Church always had the Primacy." *

If, then, two-thirds of all existing Christians acknowledge still the Pope's supremacy, and if the countries forming the remaining third did formerly, and that for many hundred years, acknowledge it, certainly it can fairly claim the right of a *power in possession;* it can throw the *burden of proof* on those who deny it. And this is a consideration of some importance. A power now exists in most active and manifold operation at the very centre of the Church of Christ—a supreme, controlling, harmonizing, conservative, unitive, defining power, in that mighty empire of thought which our Lord has set up. Who put it there? It answers: Our Lord Himself. And it points to a great number of proofs, bearing witness to its existence, in the history of eighteen hundred years. Now, these proofs are of very various cogency. No one of them, perhaps, defines, or could define, the whole range of the power; but one exhibits it in this particular, and another in that: for instance, one ancient saint declares, "that it is necessary that every Church should agree with the Roman, on account of its superiority of headship;" another, that "unity begins from it;" a third, that "where Peter is, there is the Church;" a fourth, that "the headship of the

* That is, as quoted by the Papal Legates, at the Council of Chalcedon. If it be objected that the Greek copies do not begin the 6th canon, which is the one in question, with this heading, as was observed by the Archdeacon of Constantinople at the Council of Chalcedon; yet, at the same time, neither he, nor any one else, denied the fact, that the Nicene Council acknowledged this Primacy of Rome: nay, the 29th canon of the Council of Chalcedon, which the Greek party was at the time trying to pass, and which the Popes would never ratify, recognized the Primacy of Rome at least *de facto;* nor was there any one in that Council who even pretended that it had arisen between A.D. 325 and A.D. 451. Whatever, therefore, be the true reading of the much-debated 6th canon of the Nicene Council, which seems not even yet to be settled, so much, at least, is clear, that the Primacy of Rome was admitted to be *recognized* by it, which is all that is asserted in the text.—NOTE TO SECOND EDITION.

Apostolic See has always flourished in it." * Now, it is plain that these expressions want a key. And such is supplied by the present existence of that power. The fair and candid mind will see in them much more even than they at first sight convey: for it was not the purpose of the writers at the moment to *define* the power to which they were alluding, any more than those living under the supremacy of the British monarchy, in any casual mention of it, would do otherwise than refer to it as an existing thing. If such attributes, then, of the Roman See, separately mentioned by different Fathers, all fit into, and are explained by, an existing power, and, when put together, here one and there another, exhibit, more or less, such a power, it is fair so to interpret them, and to infer that the power which we now see existed then. For attaining the truth, it is most necessary to begin by studying it under right conditions. In interpreting expressions there is often a great difference between what they *must* and what they *may* mean: now an existing power has a right, in such cases as these, that they should be interpreted in its favour.

For consider what a phenomenon, wholly without a parallel, this power, as at present existing, exhibits.

Not merely is it older than all the monarchies of Europe; little is it to say that it has watched over their first rudiments, fostered their growth, assisted their development, maintained their maturity; it has been further upheld by a deep belief, shared in common by many various nations, older in each of them than their existence as nations, and continuing on through the lapse of ages, while almost everything else in those nations has changed; not only does it rule, claiming an equal and paternal sway over all, in spite of their various jealousies, their national antagonism, or their diverse temperament, so that German and Italian, who love not each other, Pole and Spaniard, who are so dissimilar, have yet in their faith a common father; but, moreover, every circum-

* 1, St. Irenæus; 2, St. Cyprian; 3, St. Ambrose; 4, St. Augustina.—Note to Second Edition.

stance of the world has altered, and society gone round its whole cycle, from a corrupt heathen civilization, through a wild barbarism conflicting with Christianity, into wise and venerable polities built upon the Church, and having its life infused into their own, while all throughout a line of old men has been on the banks of the Tiber, ruling this huge and many-membered Christian commonwealth not by the arm of the flesh, but by the word of the Spirit. Nations fought and conquered, or were subdued; populations were changed, and races engrafted. German and Italian, Frank and Gaul, Goth and Iberian, Saxon and Briton, Slavonian and Hun, were dashed together. There were centuries of bitter wrong —the pangs of Europe hastening to the birth. But a presiding spirit was there too, and brooded over all—a spirit of unity, order, and love. At last the darkness broke, and it was found that these wild nations, one and all, recognized the keys of Peter, and felt the sword of Paul. An omen of this victory had appeared in early times. St. Leo set forth the true doctrine of the Incarnation; the Church listened, and was saved from a heresy already half imposed upon her by the civil power of the Eastern empire. The Western empire trembled at the approach of Attila, and the same Leo went forth to meet the barbarian, who was awed by the simple majesty of his presence, and the power of God in the person of His chief minister.

Fourteen hundred years have past, and Leo's successor still sits upon his throne; hundreds of Bishops, and millions of faithful, still believe that his voice sets forth and protects the true faith in every emergent heresy; and that wild force which Attila wielded has been tamed to the dominion of law, in that long course of intervening ages, by the power which Leo represented. Yet, great as was his influence as head of the Church, still incomparably greater now is the authority of his successor amongst the nations of the earth, after all defections, amid all the unbelief of these latter times, when "many run to and fro, and knowledge is increased," and

perilous powers are in motion and combination,—powers which seek to substitute the human intellect, with the arts and commodities of life springing from it, for the grace of God healing the nations, and the truth which He has committed to the guardianship of His mystical Body.

Manners, races, empires, have changed and passed away, but what St. Prosper sung in 431 is as true now:—

> "Sedes Roma Petri, quæ pastoralis honoris
> Facta caput mundo, quicquid non possidet armis
> Religione tenet."

St. Augustine, at the end of the fourth century, pointed to the line of Bishops descending from the very seat of Peter, to whom the Lord entrusted His sheep to be fed, as holding him in the Catholic Church. It was a cogent argument then; but what is it now, when fourteen centuries and a half have added more than two hundred successors to that chair, and more than forty generations have encircled it with their homage?

Is it possible for a *usurpation* to subsist under such conditions? Will many various nations agree that the head of their religion should be external to themselves? Will the members of these various and jealous nations, who are equal in their episcopal power, allow a *brother* to arrange their precedence, control their actions, terminate their disputes, rule them as one flock, and that for fifteen centuries together?

Or where shall we seek the foundation of such a power? The Church bears witness to it, but did not create it. Councils acknowledge it, but it is before Councils. The first of them said: "The Roman Church always had the Primacy." Who is sufficient to create such an institution, and to maintain it—to take a common pebble that lay at his feet, and build on it a pyramid that should last for ever; on which for evermore the rain should descend, the floods fall, and the winds blow, and all the power of the evil one be exerted in vain? One alone, surely. So this authority itself declares. So the Church itself witnesses. So unnumbered saints from age to

age proclaim. That One who said, "Let there be light," and "This is my Body," said also, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven."

But of this we must speak more in detail.

Section II.—The Scriptural Proof of the Primacy.

"In *our* life," said St. Bernard, "we seem to do, so far as our own purpose is concerned, many things by chance, and many by necessity; but Christ, the Power of God and the Wisdom of God, could be subject to neither of these. For what necessity could force God's power, or what should God's Wisdom do by chance? Wherefore all things, whatsoever He spake, whatsoever He did, whatsoever He suffered, doubt not to have proceeded from His will, full of mysteries, full of salvation." *

If such thoughts are becoming in respect of all the words which God spake on earth, in the days of His flesh, they apply with peculiar force to those few and short sentences wherein He summed up the authority which He was conferring on His Apostles for the institution and edification of His Church. They are creative words, full of power, stretching through all time, each one in itself a prophecy, a miracle, and a manifold mystery.

Assuredly, therefore, not without a special meaning were some things said to all the Apostles in common, and some to St. Peter alone.

Let us distinguish these.

And, further, let us distinguish the *promise* from the *fulfilment*.

Now, there was one signal *promise*, respecting the government of His Church, made by our Lord to St. Peter singly, and another made to all the Apostles together, including Peter. They have a close connection with each other, and the better to see their force let us put them in parallel columns :—

* In Festo Ascensionis, Serm. iv.

TO PETER.	TO THE APOSTLES.
"1. I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build My Church,	
"2. And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.	
"3. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,	
"4. And whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."	"Verily, I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

Here it will be observed, that four things are *first* promised to Peter alone, the fourth of which is *afterwards* promised to the Apostles together, including Peter.

And the *fulfilment* of this fourth promise is made likewise to all the Apostles together, thus:—

"Peace be unto you: as My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you.

"And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and saith unto them: Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained."

The other passages which express powers given to the Apostles in common, are these:—

1 Cor. xi. 23–25: "The Lord Jesus the same night in which He was betrayed took bread: and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and said: Take, eat: this is My Body, which is given for you: *this do in remembrance of Me.* After the same manner also He took the cup when He had supped, saying: This cup is the new testament in My Blood: *this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me.*" See also Luke xxii. 19.

Matt. xxviii. 18–20: "Jesus came and spake unto them, saying: All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:

teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen."

Mark xvi. 15: "And He said unto them: Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature."

Luke xxiv. 49: "And, behold, I send the promise of My Father upon you: but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high."

Acts i. 4, 5, 8: "Being assembled together with them, He commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith He, ye have heard of Me. For John truly baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.

"Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto Me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth."

We have seen that three out of four promises made to Peter singly were not made to the other Apostles, and two remarkable passages remain, which belong to Peter only.

Our Lord, when all the Apostles were around Him, at the time of His passion, singling out Peter, said to him: "Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have *you*, that he may sift you as wheat: but I have prayed for *thee*, and when thou art converted, *confirm thy brethren*."

And *after* He had delivered His commission to the Apostles assembled together, and sent them, as He was sent from the Father, bestowing on them the power to forgive sins, all which involved their Apostolate, He took an occasion, when Peter, James, and John, His most favoured disciples, and four others, were together, to address St. Peter singly in very memorable words (John xxi. 15):—

"So when they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter: Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me *more than these?* He

saith unto him: Yea, Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee. He saith unto Him: Feed My lambs (Βόσκε τὰ ἀρνία μου).

"He saith to him again the second time: Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me? He saith unto him: Yea, Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee. He saith unto him: Feed My sheep (Ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου).

"He saith unto him the third time: Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me? Peter was grieved because He said unto him the third time: Lovest thou Me? And he said unto him: Lord, Thou knowest all things: Thou knowest that I love Thee. Jesus saith unto him: Feed My sheep" (Βόσκε τὰ πρόβατά μου).

These are all the passages, respecting their own office and functions, spoken either to the Apostles in common, or to Peter singly; very few out of which to construct the government of the universal Church, were the Constructor less than God, but sufficient for Him whose word creates. Let us now sum up the powers conveyed in them: first those given to the Apostles in common; then those peculiar to Peter.

Of those given to the Apostles in common, the following are *ordinary*, that is, requisite for the perpetual government of the Church:—

1. Offering the holy Sacrifice—"This do" (τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, *hoc facite*, the sacrificial words) "in remembrance of Me." In other words, Power over the natural Body of Christ.

2. Forgiving sins, in the sacrament of Penance—"Whosesoever sins ye remit," etc. That is, Power over the mystical Body of Christ.

These make up the Priesthood.

3. Baptizing—"Baptizing them," etc.

4. Teaching and administering all other sacraments and rites, and enjoining obedience to them—"Teaching them to observe all things," etc.

5. Inflicting and removing censures— } "Whatsoever ye
6. Binding by laws— } shall bind," etc.

7. The presence of Christ with them in this office to the end—"Lo, I am with you alway."

These involve the Episcopate.

The following are *extraordinary*, making up, in fact, the Apostolate, as distinguished from the Episcopate:—

8. Immediate institution by Christ—"As My Father sent Me," etc.

9. Universal mission—"Go ye into all the world."

Now, all these powers St. Peter shared in common with the other Apostles, and therefore in all these they were equal, but the following are peculiar to himself:—

1. He is made the Rock, or foundation of the Church, next after Christ, and singly—"Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build My Church."

2. To the Church, thus founded on him, perpetual continuance and victory are guaranteed—"The gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

3. The keys of the kingdom of heaven; that is, the symbol of supreme power, the mastership over the Lord's House, the guardianship of the Lord's City, are committed to him alone—"To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven."

4. The power of binding and loosing sins, of inflicting and removing censures, of enacting spiritual laws, given to him elsewhere *with* the Apostles, is here given to him singly. "And whatsoever thou shalt bind," etc.

5. The power of confirming his brethren, because his own faith should never fail.

6. The supreme pastorship of all Christ's flock is bestowed on him—"Feed My lambs—be shepherd over My sheep—feed My sheep."

Thus, comparing together what was given to the Apostles in common, and what was given to Peter singly, we find that:—

1. He received many things alone—they nothing without him.

2. His powers can be exercised only by one—theirs by many.

3. His powers include theirs—not theirs his.

4. The ordinary government of the Church, promised and prefigured in the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, conveyed and summed up in, "Feed My sheep,"—that is, the pastoral office—radiates from his person; the Episcopate is folded up in the Primacy.

Moreover, as to the continuance and descent of these powers, the same principle which leads all Churchmen to believe that the ordinary powers bestowed on the Apostles in common for the good of the Church are continued on to those who govern the Church for ever, leads also to the belief, that the power bestowed on Peter likewise for the good of the Church continues on to his successors in like manner. Indeed, part of the promise is express on this head, assigning perpetual continuance to the Church founded on Peter.

Further, we learn in what respects the Apostles were equal to Peter, and in what he was superior to them.

They were equal in the powers of the Episcopate;

They were equal also in those of the Apostolate, superadded to the former; that is, immediate institution by Christ, and universal mission;

They were inferior to him in one point only, which made up his Primacy, namely, that they must exercise all these powers in union with him, and in dependence on him: he had *singly* what they had *collectively* with him. He had promised and engaged to him, *first* and *alone*, the supreme government, a portion of which was afterwards promised to them with him; and after the Apostolate, granted to them all in common, he had the supervision of all entrusted to him alone. For even they were committed to his charge in the words, "Feed My sheep." And so he alone was the doorkeeper; he alone the shepherd of the fold; he alone the rock on which even they, as well as all other Christians, were built; in one word, he was their Head, and so his Primacy is an *essential*

part, nay, the crown and completion of the divine government of the Church; for the Body without a Head is no Body.

Thus were they all, doctors of the whole world, as St. Cyril and St. Chrysostom tell us, yet under one, the leader of the band.

They could, and did, exercise jurisdiction, erect Bishoprics, and plant Churches, in all parts of the world, but it was in union with Peter, and in obedience to him.

His Primacy, then, consisted not in a superiority of *order*, but in a superiority of *jurisdiction*.

After the departure of the Apostles, this superiority of jurisdiction in the Primacy would be seen more clearly. For they communicated to none that universal mission, which they themselves received from Christ, the Bishops whom they ordained having only a restricted field in which they exercised their power; and it is manifest that our Lord in person instituted no Bishops after them. Thus these two privileges of the Apostolate, universal mission, and immediate institution by Christ, dropped. But St. Peter's Primacy, being distinct from his Apostolate, continued on. There was one still necessary to bear the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and to feed all the sheep of the Lord's flock. That power, first promised, and last given, to Peter, the crown and key-stone of the arch, that which makes the whole Church one flock, was a universal Episcopate. Thus the Primacy is jurisdictional, with regard to all Bishops, as it was with regard to the Apostles; and two powers emerge, of divine institution, for the government of the Church to the end of time—the Primacy and the Episcopate.

And the power thus given to Peter singly, *in promise*, that he should be the rock, the foundation of the Church, never to be moved from its place, the bearer of the keys, binding and loosing all in heaven and earth, in *fulfilment* that he should be the one shepherd charged with the care of all the sheep,—this power is, of its own nature, *supreme*. It embraces the whole flock, as well as the different sheep; the Church col-

lectively, as well its members distributively. It reaches to every need which can arise. Once grasp its true nature, and you see that it cannot be limited by any power over which it is appointed itself to rule. Yet is it tempered by that one condition laid upon it by our Lord at its institution, "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me more than these?" more than James, and more than John. This superior love is indeed needed by him who wields such a power in a kingdom built upon that love which sacrificed itself for the world; and that power itself is given for edification and not for destruction, but for that very reason is supreme, and answerable to Him alone who created it, and willed it to represent His Person upon earth.

All came from the Person of God the Word incarnate; all, therefore, is upheld from above, and not from below. All proceeded from One; all is concentrated in One. The Father is supreme, but he is a Father.

Now, in all this I have hitherto gone on the mere words of Scripture, which are so plain, so coherent, so decisive, that I cannot imagine a candid mind drawing any other conclusion from them.*

It is another argument, and no less a truth, that this view alone supplies a key to all antiquity. Thus alone does the history of the Church become intelligible. A power of divine institution, deposited from the beginning within it, is seen to

* The writer has been censured by members of that party in the Anglican Church, to which he formerly belonged, for saying that "he cannot conceive any candid mind drawing any other conclusion" from these texts, as if he had in so saying condemned himself for not having formerly drawn such conclusions from these very texts. But in point of fact *a modern contradictory tradition, inculcating as a first principle of belief that the Primacy of St. Peter, as continued in the Pope, is a corruption of Christianity*, had then possession of his mind, as it has possession of so many Protestant minds at present, and prevented his even studying what was said in Holy Writ with regard to this particular subject. Such a tradition makes a mind incapable of exercising candour, however it may desire to do so. Though Protestants profess to go by the Bible alone, probably not one Protestant in a million has ever attempted to judge dispassionately of what is said in Scripture to Peter, and to the other Apostles as to their power of governing the Church. It was already a ruled point in their minds.—NOTE TO SECOND EDITION.

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grow with its growth, to be the root on which it is planted, and the spring of its organization; to enfold in itself, and develop from itself, all other powers, imparting force to each, and harmony to all.

And now I will select, out of ancient and modern times, the testimony of two great Bishops to this interpretation of Holy Scripture. One shall be the representative of the Fathers, the other of the present Church.

More than fourteen hundred years ago, the great Pope Leo, in the midst of an assembly of Bishops, collected from all Italy to commemorate the anniversary of his pontificate, thus exhibited the mind of the Church in the middle of the fifth century respecting the see of Peter.

"Although, then, beloved, our partaking in that gift (of unity) be a great subject for common joy, yet it were a better and more excellent course of rejoicing, if ye rest not in the consideration of our humility; more profitable and more worthy by far it is to raise the mind's eye unto the contemplation of the most blessed Apostle Peter's glory, and to celebrate this day chiefly in the honour of him *who was watered with streams so copious from the very fountain of all graces, that while nothing has passed to others without his participation, yet he received many special privileges of his own.* The Word made flesh already was dwelling in us, and Christ had given up Himself whole to restore the race of man. Nothing was unordered to His wisdom; nothing difficult to His power. Elements were obeying, spirits ministering, angels serving; it was impossible that mystery could fail of its effect, in which the Unity and the Trinity of the Godhead itself were at once working. *And yet out of the whole world Peter alone is chosen to preside over the calling of all the Gentiles, and over all the Apostles and the collected Fathers of the Church; so that, though there be among the people of God many priests and many shepherds, yet Peter rules all by immediate commission, whom Christ also rules by sovereign power. Beloved, it is a great and wonderful participation of His own power which the Divine con-*

descendence gave to this man; and if He willed that other rulers should enjoy aught together with him, yet never did He give, save through him, what He denied not to others. In fine, the Lord asks all the Apostles what men think of Him; and they answer in common so long as they set forth the doubtfulness of human ignorance. But when what the disciples think is required, he who is first in Apostolic dignity is first also in confession of the Lord. And when he had said: 'Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God:' Jesus answered him: 'Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona, because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but My Father which is in heaven:'—that is, Thou art blessed, because My Father hath taught thee; nor hath opinion of the earth deceived thee, but inspiration from heaven instructed thee; and not flesh and blood hath shown Me to thee, but He, whose only-begotten Son I am. 'And I,' saith He, 'say unto thee,'—that is, as My Father hath manifested to thee My Godhead, so I too make known unto thee thine own pre-eminence,—'For thou art Peter,'—that is, whilst I am the immutable Rock; I the Corner-Stone who make both one; I the Foundation beside which no one can lay another; *yet thou also art a Rock, because by My virtue thou art firmly planted,* so *that whatever is peculiar to Me by power, is to thee by participation common with Me,*—'and upon this Rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it;'—on this strength, saith He, I will build an eternal temple, and My Church, which in its height shall reach the heaven, shall rise upon the firmness of this faith.

"This confession the gates of hell shall not restrain, nor the chains of death fetter; for that voice is the voice of life. And as it raises those who confess it unto heavenly places, so it plunges those who deny it into hell. Wherefore it is said to most blessed Peter: 'I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' *The privilege of this*

power did indeed pass on to the other Apostles, and the order of this decree spread out to all the rulers of the Church, but not without purpose what is intended for all is put into the hands of one. For therefore is this entrusted to Peter singularly, because all the rulers of the Church are invested with the figure of Peter. The privilege, therefore, of Peter remaineth, wheresoever judgment is passed according to his equity. Nor can severity or indulgence be excessive, where nothing is bound, nothing loosed, save what blessed Peter either bindeth or looseth. Again, as that Passion drew on which was about to shake the firmness of His disciples, the Lord saith: 'Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat: but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not, and when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren,' that ye enter not into temptation. The danger from the temptation of fear was common to all the Apostles, and they equally needed the help of divine protection, since the Devil desired to dismay, to make a wreck of all: *and yet the Lord takes care of Peter in particular, and asks specially for the faith of Peter, as if the state of the rest would be more certain, if the mind of their chief were not overcome. So then in Peter the strength of all is fortified, and the help of Divine grace is so ordered, that the stability which through Christ is given to Peter, through Peter is conveyed to the Apostles.*

"Since then, beloved, we see such a protection divinely granted to us, reasonably and justly do we rejoice in the merits and dignity of our chief, rendering thanks to the Eternal King, our Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ, *for having given so great a power to him whom He made chief of the whole Church*, that if anything, even in our time, by us be rightly done and rightly ordered, it is to be ascribed to his working, to his guidance, unto whom it was said: 'And thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren;' and to whom the Lord, after His resurrection, in answer to the triple profession of eternal love, thrice said, with mystical intent: 'Feed My sheep.' And this, beyond a doubt, the pious shepherd does

even now, and fulfils the charge of his Lord, confirming us with his exhortations, and not ceasing to pray for us, that we may be overcome by no temptation. But if, as we must believe, he everywhere discharges this affectionate guardianship to all the people of God, how much more will he condescend to grant his help unto us his children, among whom, on the sacred couch of his blessed repose, he resteth in the same flesh in which he ruled? To him, therefore, let us ascribe this anniversary day of us his servant, and this festival, by whose advocacy we have been thought worthy to share his seat itself, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ Christ helping us in all things, Who liveth and reigneth with God the Father and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever." *

I defer to a later place the proof how exactly all this accords with the doctrine of St. Augustine, and the Fathers who preceded him.

Now let us pass on through twelve centuries to another scene, where a Bishop, at the court of a Sovereign intoxicated with power, and most jealous of his temporal rights as Sovereign, set forth to the Gallican Episcopate solemnly assembled the doctrines to be gathered from these words of Scripture.

"Listen: this is the mystery of Catholic unity, and the immortal principle of the Church's beauty. True beauty comes from health; what makes the Church strong, makes her fair: her unity makes her fair, her unity makes her strong. United from within by the Holy Spirit, she has besides a common bond of her outward communion, and must remain united by a government in which the authority of Jesus Christ is represented. Thus one unity guards the other, and, under the seal of ecclesiastical government, the unity of the Spirit is preserved. What is this government? What is its form? Let us say nothing of ourselves; let us open the Gospel: the Lamb has opened the seals of that sacred book, and the tradition of the Church has explained all.

* St. Leon, Serm. iv. tom. i. pp. 15–19.

"We shall find in the Gospel that Jesus Christ, willing to *commence* the mystery of unity in His Church, among all His disciples chose twelve; but that, willing to *consummate* the mystery of unity in the same Church, among the twelve He chose one. 'He called His disciples,' says the Gospel; here are all; 'and among them He chose twelve.' Here is a first separation, and the Apostles chosen. 'And these are the names of the twelve Apostles: the first, Simon, who is called Peter.' Here, in a second separation, St. Peter is set at the head, and called for that reason by the name of Peter, 'which Jesus Christ,' says St. Mark, 'had given him,' in order to prepare, as you will see, the work which He was purposing, to raise all His building on that stone.

"All this is yet but a commencement of the mystery of unity. Jesus Christ, in beginning it, still spoke to many: 'Go ye, preach ye; I send you:' but when He would put the last hand to the mystery of unity, He speaks no longer to many: He marks out Peter personally, and by the new name which He has given him. It is One who speaks to one: Jesus Christ the Son of God to Simon son of Jonas; Jesus Christ, who is the true Stone, strong of Himself, to Simon, who is only the stone by the strength which Jesus Christ imparts to him. It is to him that Christ speaks, and in speaking acts on him, and stamps upon him His own immovableness. 'And *I*,' He says, 'say unto thee, Thou art Peter, and,' He adds, 'upon this rock I will build My Church, and,' He concludes, 'the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' To prepare him for that honour, Jesus Christ, Who knows that faith in Himself is the foundation of His Church, inspires Peter with a faith worthy to be the foundation of that admirable building, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' By that bold preaching of the faith, he draws to himself the inviolable promise which makes him the foundation of the Church. The word of Jesus Christ, who out of nothing makes what pleases Him, gives this strength to a mortal. *Say not, think not, that this ministry of St. Peter terminates with him: that which is to*

serve for support to an eternal Church can never have an end. Peter will live in his successors. Peter will always speak in his chair. This is what the Fathers say. This is what six hundred and thirty Bishops at the Council of Chalcedon confirm.

"But consider briefly what follows. Jesus Christ pursues His design; and, after having said to Peter, the eternal preacher of the faith, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church,' He adds, 'And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' Thou, who hast the prerogative of preaching the faith, thou shalt have likewise the keys which mark the authority of government: 'What thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven: and what thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.' *All is subjected to these keys: all, my brethren, kings and nations, pastors and flocks:* we declare it with joy, for we love unity, and hold obedience to be our glory. It is Peter who is ordered first to love more than all the other Apostles, and then, 'to feed,' and govern all, both 'the lambs and the sheep,' the young ones, and the mothers, and the pastors themselves: *pastors in regard to the people, and sheep in regard to Peter;* in him they honour Jesus Christ, confessing likewise that with reason greater love is asked of him, forasmuch as he has a greater dignity with a greater charge; and that among us, under the discipline of a Master such as ours, according to His word it must be, that the first be as He, by charity the servant of all."

"Thus St. Peter appears the first in all things: the first to confess the faith; the first in the obligation to exercise love; the first of all the Apostles who saw Jesus Christ risen, as he was to be the first witness of it before all the people; the first when the number of the Apostles was to be filled up; the first who confirmed the faith by a miracle; the first to convert the Jews; the first to receive the Gentiles; the first everywhere.

"You have seen this unity in the Holy See, would you see it in the whole episcopal order and college? Still it is in

St. Peter that it must appear, and still in these words: 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind, shall be bound; whatsoever thou shalt loose, shall be loosed.' All the Popes and all the Holy Fathers have taught it with a common consent. Yes, my brethren, these great words, in which you have seen so clearly the Primacy of St. Peter, have set up Bishops, since the force of their ministry consists in binding or loosing those who believe or believe not their word. Thus this divine power of binding and loosing is a necessary annexment, and, as it were, the final seal of the preaching which Jesus Christ has entrusted to them; and you see, in passing, the whole order of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Therefore, the same who said to Peter: 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind, shall be bound; whatsoever thou shalt loose, shall be loosed:' has said the same thing to all the Apostles, and has said to them, moreover: 'Whosesoever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they shall be retained.' What is to bind, but to retain? What to loose, but to remit? And the same who gives to Peter this power, gives it also with His own mouth to all the Apostles: 'As My Father hath sent Me, so,' says He, 'send I you.' A power better established, or a mission more immediate, cannot be seen. So He breathes equally on all. On all He diffuses the same Spirit with that breath, in saying, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost,' and the rest that we have quoted.

"*It was, then, clearly the design of Jesus Christ to put first in one alone, what afterwards He meant to put in several; but the sequence does not reverse the beginning, nor the first lose his place. That first word, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind,' said to one alone, has already ranged under his power each one of those to whom shall be said, 'Whatsoever ye shall remit;' for the promises of Jesus Christ, as well as His gifts, are without repentance; and what is once given indefinitely and universally is irrevocable: besides, that power given to several carries its restriction in its division, whilst power given to one alone, and over all, and without exception, carries with it plenitude, and,*

not having to be divided with any other, it has no bounds save those which its terms convey.

"Thus the mystery is understood: all receive the same power, and all from the same source; but not all in the same degree, nor with the same extent; for Jesus Christ communicates Himself in such measure as pleases Him, and always in the manner most suitable to establish the unity of His Church. This is why He begins with the first, and in that first He forms the whole, and Himself develops in order what He has put in one. 'And Peter,' says St. Augustine, 'who in the honour of his primacy represented the whole Church,'* receives also the first, and the only one at first, the keys which should afterwards be communicated to all the rest,† in order that we may learn according to the doctrine of a holy Bishop of the Gallican Church,‡ that the ecclesiastical authority, first established in the person of one alone, has only been diffused on the condition of being always brought back to the principle of its unity, and that all those who shall have to exercise it ought to hold themselves inseparably united to the same chair.

"This is that Roman chair so celebrated by the Fathers, which they have vied with each other in exalting as 'the chiefship of the Apostolic See;'§ 'the superior chiefship;'‖ 'the source of unity;'¶ 'that most holy throne which has the headship over all the Churches of the world;'** 'the head of the Episcopate, the chiefship of the universal Church;'†† 'the head of the pastoral honour to the world;'‡‡ 'the head of the members;'§§ 'the single chair, in which all keep unity.'‖‖ In these words you hear St. Optatus, St. Augustine, St. Cyprian, St. Irenæus, St. Prosper, St. Avitus, St. Theodoret, the Council of Chalcedon, and the rest; Africa, Gaul, Greece, Asia, the East and the West together."¶¶

* St. Augustine.
† St. Optatus.
‡ Cæsarius of Arles to Pope Symmachus.
§ St. Aug., Ep. 43.
‖ St. Irenæus, iii. 3.
¶ St. Cyp., Ep. 73.
** Theodoret, Ep. 116.
†† St. Avitus ad Faust.
‡‡ St. Prosper de Ingrat.
§§ Council of Chalcedon to St. Leo.
‖‖ St. Optat., 2 cont. Parm.
¶¶ Bossuet, Sermon sur l'Unité.

Now, when St. Leo publicly, in such an undoubting manner, set forth from Holy Scripture itself the peculiar privileges of St. Peter's See, did he go beyond the minds of his hearers, and the belief of his age? So far from it, that the Eastern Church, ever most jealous in this respect, assembled in a Council of more than six hundred Bishops, of which two only, the Pope's own legates, were from the West, of its own accord, and in the solemn act of a synodal letter, addresses this very St. Leo in terms equivalent to his own, which are even unintelligible, save upon the principles of St. Leo's discourse.* They acknowledge him as sitting in the place of Peter; "the interpreter to all of the voice of the blessed Peter;" they declare that "he presided over them as the head over the members;" they ask for his consent to their acts, "because every success of the children is reckoned to the parents who own it;" they tell him that "he is entrusted by the Saviour with the guardianship of the vine, and that, "shining himself in the full light of Apostolic radiance, he had, with habitual regard, often extended this likewise to the Church of Constantinople, inasmuch as he could afford, without grudging, to impart his own blessings to his kindred;" they pray him, as "they had introduced agreement with the head in good things, so let the head fulfil to the children what is fitting;" and finally, they say that the whole force of their acts will depend on his confirmation.

I see not that the most vigorous defender of St. Peter's rights has ever claimed for him greater power than St. Leo exercised at the Council of Chalcedon, or greater than here, of its own accord, the Council attributes to him.

On the same basis of Holy Scripture the Council of Lateran, A.D. 1215, sets its decree: "The Roman Church, *by the disposition of the Lord*, holds the chiefship of ordinary power over all the rest, as being the mother and mistress of all the faithful of Christ."†

At the Council of Lyons, A.D. 1274, the Greeks were

* Mansi, vi. 147–155. † Ibid. xxii. 990.

admitted to communion, confessing that "the holy Roman Church holds a supreme and full primacy and headship over the whole Catholic Church, which she truly and humbly acknowledges to have received from the Lord Himself, in the person of blessed Peter, the prince or head of the Apostles, whose successor is the Roman Pontiff, with plenitude of power."*

And the Council of Florence declares, that "the holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff hold a primacy over the whole world; and that the Roman Pontiff himself is successor of blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, and true Vicar of Christ, and Head of the whole Church, and is Father and Doctor of all Christians; and that to him, in the person of blessed Peter, full power was delivered by our Lord Jesus Christ to feed, to rule, and to govern the universal Church, as also is contained in the acts of Ecumenical Councils, and in the sacred Canons."†

Surely the definition of these three later Councils, to which, in their day, the Church of England was bound, and from obedience to which I have never been able to learn in what way she has been delivered, asserts no more either than the words of our Lord Himself, in the Holy Scripture, or than those of the Council of Chalcedon, in the middle of the fifth century, to which the Church of England still professes obedience.

Nor can I see how any honest mind can draw from our Lord's words and acts any other meaning than that set forth by St. Leo in the fifth century, and by Bossuet in the seventeenth century.

This, then, is the testimony of the Holy Scripture, and this the interpretation of the Church, respecting the Roman Primacy. If, through eighteen hundred years, two things alone have remained unshaken, the Christian Faith and the Apostolic See, perhaps it is because he who confessed, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," was forthwith made the Rock, against which every storm should strike in vain.

* Mansi, xxiv. 71. † Ibid. xxxi. 1031.

Section III.—The End and Office of the Primacy.

"Holy Father, keep through Thine own name those whom Thou hast given Me, that they may be one, as We are. . . . As Thou hast sent Me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world. And for their sakes I sanctify Myself, that they also may be sanctified through the truth. Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on Me through their word; that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us: that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me. And the glory which Thou gavest me I have given them; that they may be one, even as We are one: I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect in one; and that the world may know that Thou hast sent Me, and hast loved them, as Thou hast loved Me."*

"The promises of Jesus Christ, as well as His gifts, are without repentance;" † and the prayers of Jesus Christ are ever accomplished.

In this most sacred of all prayers, He tells us the purpose of His mission into the world: "I have finished the work which Thou gavest Me to do:" and that work, to set up in the world, and out of the world, but not of the world, a unity, of which the model and prototype is, the unity of the Most Holy Trinity: "that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us:" and a *visible unity*, for its effect should be, "that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me."

Our Lord is praying for His Church, and in so doing He sets it before us in its double unity,—the unity of the Body, and the unity of the Spirit; its unity as one visible society,

* John xvii. † Bossuet, Sermon sur l'Unité.

and its unity as one spiritual system: unities which may be in thought distinguished, and considered separately, but which, in fact, involve each other, and are inseparable. "There is one Body, and one Spirit," even as there is "one Lord," who is in two natures, of which the human has a body, and the divine is pure spirit; and "one faith," in that same Christ, the Son of the living God.

And now let us refer back the nature of each of these unities to its great model and exemplar, the Most Holy Trinity.

I. First, as to the unity of the Body.

What is that unity wherein the Father and the Son are one? It is a unity of essence and of origin. The Father is God, and the Son is God, and yet there are not two Gods, because the Godhead of the Son is derived from the Father; nor are there three, though the Holy Spirit is equally God, because His Godhead proceeds from the same fountain of Deity in the Father, through the Son.

What is the unity of the Church as a visible society—that one holy Catholic Church in which we all so often profess our belief? It is a unity of essence and of origin in its government, the one indivisible Episcopate. "Episcopatus unus, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur."

Our Lord, in His prayer, deduces all from His own mission; "as Thou hast *sent* Me into the world, even so have I also *sent* them into the world." The fountain of this visible unity, the root of this divine society, the source of all power to govern it, was in that divine Person to whom Peter said: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." Who by His answer communicated—for His promises, like His gifts, are without repentance—to the speaker that fountain, that root, and that power: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Here our Lord *marked out* one man as the head, after Himself, of that visible unity, which He had come into

the world to set up. And when the work of redemption was complete, He *conferred* on that same man the power which He had here promised; "Simon, son of Jonas, Feed My sheep." So St. Augustine, inheriting the doctrine of St. Cyprian, tells us: "He saith to Peter, *in whose single person He casts the mould of His Church:* Peter, lovest thou Me?" *

Our Lord, throughout His Gospel, calls that one visible society a kingdom,—this is he to whom He gave its keys; and one fold,—this is its shepherd; and a family,—this is the elder brother to whom He said: Confirm thy brethren; and a household,—this is "the faithful and wise steward," whom the Lord hath made ruler over it; Solomon calls it an army,—this is its general; and St. Paul a body,—this is, after Christ, its head.

For it was to remain, from the Lord's first coming to His second, a kingdom, a fold, a family, a household, an army, and a body, all which are visible unities. How, then, should it not have a visible head to all these? How should not he, to whom the Lord departing said, "Feed My sheep," continue in the person of his successors to feed them for ever, till the great Shepherd should appear at His manifestation?

This is what General Councils have exclaimed: "Peter hath spoken by Leo," † "Peter hath spoken by Agatho." This is what the whole line of saints has believed, and in this faith has lived and died: "Blessed Peter, who in his own see lives and rules, grants to those who seek it the truth of the faith." ‡

What is that which makes a kingdom one?—the derivation of all jurisdiction from its Sovereign; or an army one?—the concentration of all authority in its general; or a household one, but the rule of its master? or a body one, but the perpetual influence of its head? or, what unites the countless sheep of the visible Church in one fold here on earth, but the one shepherd, who represents the Lord?

* Serm. cxlvii. c. 2.

† The Council of Chalcedon, and the Sixth Council, in 680.

‡ St. Peter Chrysologus to the heretic Eutyches.

Two sovereigns, two generals with supreme power, two masters, two heads, two shepherds, destroy altogether the idea of these respectives unities.

But our Lord takes us higher than these. He prays that "they may be one, as We are;" now, two or more sources of deity would make two or more gods. So two or more sources of power in His Church, viewed as a visible society, would make two or more Churches. But He willed that Church to be one for ever, and he made it one by the unity of source in its perpetual government. He set up one indivisible Episcopate, which had not its like in things of earth, and found its exemplar only in the divine essence; in that unity of three Persons which consists in having one source of deity.

The ancient Saint, who speaks of "one Episcopate, a part of which is held by each without division of the whole," is in that same place setting forth precisely this unity of the Church, as springing from one source. He asks why men are deceived; and he answers, because "they do not return to *the origin of truth*, nor *seek the head*." In that case there "would not be need of arguments." What is this origin? who this head? he goes on. The Lord says to Peter: "Thou art Peter," etc. On his single person He builds His Church. This person of Peter he points out as the source of many rays, the root of a tree spreading into many branches, the fountain-head of countless streams fertilizing the earth. Yet in all these "unity is preserved in the origin." It is evident that so long as the unity abides, the origin must abide too; he is contemplating an ever-springing source of an ever-living power. And he then refers to the Holy Trinity, as the type of this: "The Lord says, I and the Father are one. And, again, of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, it is written, And these three are one. And does anybody believe that this unity, coming from the divine solidity, cohering by means of heavenly sacraments, *can possibly* be divided in the Church, and divorced by the collision of wills?" So Pope Symmachus (A.D. 500) says: "After the manner of

the Trinity, whose power is one and indivisible, there is one Episcopate in diverse prelates." God the Father is the source of this power in the Godhead, and St. Peter's chair of this unity in the Episcopate. St. Cyprian and St. Symmachus are equally setting forth this prayer of our Lord.

Let the Church be extended to any degree in the number of her Bishops, yet she is one, and they are one, in "the unity of origin;" not merely in that Peter *was* one "from whom the very Episcopate, and all the authority of this title, sprung;" * but, in that Peter *is* still one, and that now, in the nineteenth century, just as when St. Leo said it in the fifth: "If anything, even in our time, by us be rightly done, and rightly ordered, it is to be ascribed to his working, to his guidance, unto whom it was said: 'And thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren:' and to whom the Lord, after His resurrection, in answer to the triple profession of eternal love, thrice said, with mystical intent: 'Feed My sheep.' And this, beyond a doubt, the pious shepherd does even now, and fulfils the charge of his Lord."

In truth, we are living men, with living souls, and we need a living Church, and not a dead one. Those who can bear that the Body of Christ should be corrupt, may also endure that it once was alive, but is now dead; or, that it once was one, but is now three. All these three notions can indeed only be expressed by an honest word which arose in a dishonest time;—they are a *sham*, and they who put them forward do not at the bottom believe either in the one Body or in the one Spirit; for it is evident that the one Body perishes, when the one Spirit ceases to animate it. What will it help the wandering soul to tell it, there was once a teacher sent from God, but he has ceased to bear God's commission? Or the wrecked mariner, there was once a ship, which rode the waves bravely, but it is not now within your reach? And what will it help one who is longing, aching, perishing, for the truth, to answer, there once was a Church,

* St. Innocent to the Council of Milevi, A.D. 417.

"the pillar and ground of the truth," and so it remained, as long as it was undivided, that is, for many hundred years; but it *is* divided now, and therefore is now no longer the pillar and ground of the truth; but stay where you are, and hold all which that Church held, and you will be safe?

This is Anglicanism.

Was it for this that our Lord prayed, "that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us: that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me"?

Or does St. Peter still sit in his one chair? Is he still the living source of a living Episcopate? Does he still proclaim, with the voice of the one universal Church: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God"? Does he still hear in answer: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it"?

This is Catholicism.

"Peter," says St. Augustine, "represented the very universality and unity of the Church."* And this Episcopate, which has its living source in the person of Peter's successor, and its centre in his chair, which is thus derived from him, and perpetually carried back to him, can and does embrace the whole earth, extends unto all nations, for no difference of race or speech is "foreign" to the household of saints; makes all languages one, for it has the Pentecostal gift, and this is surely universality; and yet is gathered up, directed, influenced, held together, by one, a Bishop himself and having a particular flock, a Bishop of Bishops and having a universal one, and this is surely unity. The whole Episcopate is morticed into that Rock of Peter, by which it is one and immovable. Separate a portion of it from that Rock, and it is no longer "one Episcopate, a part of which is held by each *without division of the whole*." That division mars all. With unity strength, and with strength courage departs, and the

* Serm. 295.

spring of its power is gone; it no longer stands in one place; its footing is lost; the powers of the world set their feet on its neck; and for that one voice: "Thou art Christ, the son of the living God," which is the voice of the Rock, it is much if it do not cry when the world accuses it: "I know not the man." To "One Body, and one Spirit, one Lord, and one Faith," what is added?—"One Baptism." And by those who do not stand on Peter's Rock, this one Baptism for the remission of sins will be declared a difficult and mysterious doctrine, understood by pious minds in different ways, and therefore not to be imposed on any. To make God's truth an open question is to deny the Lord when you are accused of being His disciple.

But impart that one and true Episcopate to as many as you will, its voice will be one, and its power one, its rule equal, its courage unswerving, because the "unity of its origin" is one, and "the Catholic Church throughout all the world will be one bridal chamber of Christ." *

The end and office of the Primacy, therefore, in respect to the Church as a visible society, is the maintenance of unity, which is upheld now and through all time, and in all countries, as it was in the upper chamber of Jerusalem, because the source of its organization is one.

II. But this unity is itself subservient to a higher one: that most sacred Body of the Lord, beside His reasonable Soul, is inhabited by the eternal Spirit of His Godhead; and this, His mystical Body, has too its Spirit,—the Spirit of truth, leading it into all truth. This outward framework has a system of divine teaching committed to it, a perpetual deposit. Of this, too, the Lord said: "The glory which Thou gavest Me, I have given them; that they may be one, even as We are One: I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect in one, and that the world may know that Thou hast sent Me." How are the Father and the Son one?—By

* Decree of Pope Gelasius, and seventy Bishops, A.D. 494; determining the Canon of Scripture.—Mansi, viii. 147.

the Holy Spirit, which is their love. How is the Church one?—By that Holy Spirit dwelling in her. How is the voice of that Spirit made known?—By that same organ of visible unity; by that Rock which cries: "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God:" by him who perpetually confirms his brethren; by him who is charged that he love more than all, because he has the charge of the whole flock. Peter calls his brethren together, Peter asks their counsel, Peter collects their suffrages, Peter confirms their voice. In so doing, he represents their universality; or, again, as the one chief shepherd, as the one keeper of the door, and holder of the keys, as having in himself the power to bind and to loose all, even the whole number of his brethren, whether collected, or distributed in their several pastures, he pronounces himself, and in so doing he represents their unity. United with a general Council, he shows to the world that the Church is universal; from his own watch-tower, the loftiest of all, he proclaims to that same world that she is one.*

Where Peter speaks, you have one faith, one homogeneous and harmonious system of teaching—sacraments which embrace the whole spiritual life from the cradle to the grave. He teaches that infants are received into God's kingdom by the laver of regeneration in Baptism, nor are his disciples shocked at his voice; because he likewise teaches them, that if those who have received this divine gift sin, they can only recover it by penance: they must enter afresh into that kingdom out of which they have wantonly cast themselves, by the second baptism of tears, and the plank which remains for the shipwrecked: where Peter's voice is not heard, the doctrine of Baptism is either taught without the doctrine of penance, and then it becomes at once a stumbling-block, or it is not taught at all, and the whole sacramental system is overthrown. He teaches, moreover, that our Lord has established a real ministry for the forgiveness of sins, and bestowed on men a real power to consecrate His Body, the

* This thought is from De Maistre,—I forget the reference.

source of unspeakable blessings to men, the inexhaustible fountain of sanctity, the spring of superhuman love. This it is which enables him to ask of those who listen to his teaching the surrender of their dearest affections, and the life of angels upon earth. And he teaches this, not in an ambiguous, hesitating manner, as one rather ashamed of his message, who would rather insinuate than state what he had to say; but he is plain-spoken in his premises, bold and consistent in his deductions.

From the Divinity of our Lord's Person he infers, that the Lord's Mother has an office and a function in His kingdom of love; from the reality of His Eucharistic Presence he proclaims that saints live and reign with Him, hear prayers, and work miracles. The world listens, and sneers, and cavils, and disbelieves, is affronted, abuses, persecutes, but the elect are converted and saved.

Go to those who once acknowledged Peter as their Doctor and Teacher, who left him in possession of his full inheritance, and you will find this consistent and harmonious system mainly held indeed, but somehow afflicted with sterility, a "Church in petrifaction," as some one has called it.

Go to those who left Peter denouncing him as a corrupter of God's truth, as antichrist sitting in Christ's seat, and you find this divine system broken into fragments; some holding one part, and some another, all exaggerating what they have, and depreciating what they have not, and misunderstanding the whole. There is no longer any agreement, no longer the shadow of one faith. The dissentients broke into numberless bodies, and have been breaking off more and more ever since: they set out with acknowledging an authority, which they put in themselves, but they finish with denying that there is any, and proclaiming as their indefeasible right the liberty to judge Scripture for themselves, and to deduce from it what seems good to such private judgment: a corollary to which, in a tolerant and luxurious age like our own, is this, that every

one has indeed a right to his own opinion, but that no one should impose such opinion on his neighbour; and thus all truth is got rid of.

Or if there be one part of those dissentients in whom from the beginning there was more worldly policy than sincerity of belief, however erroneous; if there was one province of Christ's mystical kingdom, on which Cæsar had cast longing eyes, and said in his heart: "Give me but the sceptre of Christ, and I shall be omnipotent:" think you that worldly law and Cæsar's policy have had power to arrest the downward descent, to maintain the one inheritance of faith, to set it forth in its simplicity and purity? Alas! what do you find?—ambiguous formularies, studiously so drawn up to be signed in different senses by those who minister at the same altar: a system so ill compacted, that those who believe in sacraments are tormented by one half which they engage to maintain, and those who disbelieve them, have to drug their consciences as to the other half; and these two parties, opposed in every principle of their belief, this bundle of Luthero-Calvinist heresies stifling Catholic truths, held together by a civil law, and by the anxiety of a State,—which has no conscience of its own, and looks on all dogma with sheer indifference,—to wield a weapon of great influence, a system based on worldly comfort and outward respectability, instead of the pure unearthly aims, the keen faith, and self-denying life, of the one Bride of Christ.

Can this be that of which our Lord spake?—"that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us: that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me."

What, on the other hand, is the belief which has been from the first at the very heart of the Church, which has inspirited her members from age to age to stand against the world, to disregard its frowns, to think a life well spent in maintaining a point of doctrine, and death endured in behalf of any part of her teaching, a martyrdom? What else but

that there is one faith lodged within her, which it is her very function to guard, set forth, and apply; to unfold from the germ to the full and perfect fruit; to draw from the pregnant sentences and short intimations of Holy Writ, to harmonize and arrange, distribute and portion out, so that man, woman, and child, may find in it their stay, that saints may grow up under its nurture, and its fruit be for the healing of the nations? And, what is part and parcel of this belief, that as our Lord's presence was with Peter and his brethren, in those first days, and throughout their ministry, so it would be evermore. The Comforter, whom He had promised, was not to be given for one generation, or one century, or two or four, and then to be withdrawn, but for ever. He could not fail the body in which He dwelt, while Peter presided over it in person; as little could he fail, in the fifth century, when one of Peter's successors presided in His place; as little in the ninth, or the twelfth, or the fifteenth, as little in the nineteenth, or in any to come. *For to suppose His failing is to ignore the whole idea on which the Church is built:* it is to turn the mystical body of Christ into a school of philosophy, a branch of learning. Had it been so, the lower empire would have corrupted it, the barbarians have swept it away with sword and flame, the Reformation have torn it to pieces, and Voltaire laughed it out of the world.

Not a Council which ever sat, not a Father who ever wrote, not a martyr who ever suffered, but believed in a perpetual illuminating grace of the Holy Spirit dwelling in the Church of God to the end of time. Without it Councils and Fathers would not have existed, and still less martyrs. Men do not suffer for *opinions*, but for faith. And now, as age after age went on, as the Church burst the limits of the Roman empire, and added nation after nation to her sway, as she passed the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, what power within her was to hold together that wide system of teaching worked out into such manifold detail? What power to eject

from her bosom heresy after heresy, which by the will of God was to arise and try her, winnow the wheat, and scatter the chaff? That same power which guarded and maintained the unity and universality of her outward framework, became the voice of the Holy Spirit within her, defining and ordering her faith. Her Episcopate did not break into fragments within each separate nation, and constitute systems of government co-extensive with their several sovereignties, because the perpetual fountain of the one Episcopate had its spring and plenitude in St. Peter's See, and every individual who held a part of it, held it *without division of the whole*: and her faith remained one, homogeneous and complete, because it was the faith of Peter, which could not fail, because the one Shepherd led the whole flock into the same pastures, because as Peter had spoken by Leo, and spoken by Agatho, so likewise he spoke by Innocent and by Pius; so he gathers the voices of his brethren now, lifted from eight hundred provinces to one throne, weighs them in his wisdom, and gives them a single expression and a universal potency. He who breaks from the Body of the Universal Pastor commits schism; he who disregards the voice of the Universal Pastor falls into heresy. St. Celestine judged Nestorius, and St. Leo judged Eutyches; and their heresies were cast out of the Church, and carried with them the whole sacramental system of the Church, and an indisputable Episcopal Succession; they laid hold of nations, and lasted for centuries; their heresies might seem to men of the world subtle metaphysical misconceptions. I doubt not that six of the most learned lawyers of the most unimpeachable integrity which England could produce would pronounce that both were "open questions," and might be innocently held; and that men's "consciences must be set on hair-triggers," to fight about such things. But nevertheless two Popes judged those heresies, and God has judged them too; their prestige is past away; no civil power finds it worth while any longer to live upon

them. But the Church of God goes on still upon her course; the voice of Peter still lives within her. She is still one in her outward framework, one in her inward belief; she still claims to be obeyed and trusted, because the see of Peter is within her, and the presence which cannot fail, the power which enunciates truths, and makes saints, has its organ in that voice, and abides by that rock.

Section IV.—The Power of the Primacy.

We have seen that the *end* for which our Lord instituted the Primacy was the maintenance of unity in His mystical Body, its twofold unity of a great visible society, and a great spiritual system of belief; in other words, of communion, and of faith. From His own divine Person as the God-Man, the visible society, and the faith which animates it, sprang; and He established unity both in the one and in the other for ever, by appointing one from age to age to represent that Person, and in that capacity to be the ever-springing source of all power to govern the society; the ever-living voice which gives expression to its belief.

The man so selected was St. Peter; and what St. Peter was in the Apostolic Body, every successor of his has been, is, and shall be to the end of time in the "One Episcopate, in which a part is held by each *without division of the whole.*"

The *end* for which the Primacy was instituted guides us, then, to the nature of its *power*, which is, a jurisdiction universal, immediate, and supreme.

How was this conveyed? In a manner quite in accordance with other acts of our Lord, and with His teaching.

Is He not wont to gather up all His dispensations in a few words of profound depth and meaning, which, perhaps, it will require ages to develop? What are His parables but so many pictures, which convey to us, each without crowding, and in space incredibly small, the nature of His kingdom, the working of His grace, the fortunes of His Church?

It would seem as if He delighted to repeat in language, the poor vehicle of human thought, the miracles which He works in nature when He paints on the retina of the eye a boundless and varied landscape, every object in its due pro-

portion, every colour and form preserved, on a point of space so minute.

In the most ancient of all prophecies, He summed up the whole of His revelation to man, all that He Himself was to do, and much that yet remains to be unfolded at "the restitution of all things," when He declared that the Seed of the woman should bruise the Serpent's head. All subsequent prophecy was but the unfolding of this.

So in the creation of His mystical Body He set forth in a word the person of its ruler, and the nature of its perpetual government.

He spoke to Peter *once in promise*: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven."

And *once in performance*: "Feed My lambs: be shepherd over My sheep: feed My sheep."

It was the voice of the Creator, summing up His work in a word, for hence the whole organization of His Church has sprung. Age after age was to bring to light more and more the force of these words. Time has not yet exhausted the first prophecy, nor has it told us all which is contained in His words to Peter.

But thus from the first the Primacy *contained* the Episcopate, and the privileges of Metropolitans, Primates, and Patriarchs are but emanations from the fountain-head, which sends forth larger or lesser streams, as the case may require, but remains itself full.

The Priest is the centre of unity, both as to communion and faith, in his parish; the Bishop in his diocese; but he who heard "Feed My sheep," in the whole Episcopate; which he represents and carries in his person, which sprung forth originally from that person, and is now maintained in it.

Is this a new belief? Nay, it is the doctrine of all antiquity, the *only* view which ancient saints give us of the

government of Christ's Church; the only view which will give connection and harmony to the facts of Ecclesiastical history.

This is what St. Cyprian meant when he called St. Peter's chair "the root and womb of the Catholic Church." *

Or let us take the public letters of the most ancient Popes which have come down to us,—documents incomparably more authoritative than the words of any particular Father, because, though signed by the Pope alone, they were the acts of his Council likewise, transmitted to Primates of provinces, by them to be communicated to Bishops, and received as having the force of laws.

Pope Boniface I., A.D. 422, to whom St. Augustine dedicated one of his works, thus writes to the Bishops of Thessaly:—

"*The formation of the Universal Church at its birth took its beginning from the honour of blessed Peter, in whose person its regimen and sum consists. For from his fountain the stream of ecclesiastical discipline flowed forth into all Churches, as the culture of religion progressively advanced.* The precepts of the Nicene Council bear witness to nothing else: so that it ventured not to appoint anything over him, seeing that nothing could possibly be conferred above his deserts: moreover, *it knew that everything had been granted to him by the word of the Lord. Certain, therefore, is it that this Church is to the Churches diffused throughout the whole world, as it were, the head of its own members; from which, whosoever cuts himself off, becomes expelled from the Christian religion, as he has begun not to be in the one compact structure* (compages).†

"For this purpose the Apostolic See holds the headship, that it may receive the lawful complaints of all."

At the beginning of the fifth century, the Pope speaks of what was ancient, recognized, and indisputable, based on the words of Holy Writ, and acknowledged by the first great general Council.

* Ep. 45 to Pope Cornelius.

† Coustant. Ep. Rom. Pontific. p. 1037.

Let us take another passage which points out the difference between Order and Jurisdiction in the members of the Apostolic College itself, and so in the Episcopal Body since; for, on the right understanding of this distinction, and of the consequences which flow from it, depends the understanding of the whole constitution of the Church as a visible society; and a misconception, an incoherence, here, will confuse the whole vision, and make a man, with the best intentions, unable to locate, or estimate, the strongest proofs brought before him.

St. Leo was deriving a part of his own universal Primacy to the Bishop of Thessalonica; that is, he was giving him, over and above his proper powers as Bishop of the individual see of Thessalonica, a power to represent the Pope, constituting him, in fact, a Patriarch over the ten Metropolitans of Eastern Illyricum, including Greece; just as the Bishop of Alexandria was over Egypt, and the Bishop of Antioch over the East, that is, the province called Oriens. These are St. Leo's own words: "As my predecessors to your predecessors, so have I, following the example of those gone before, *committed to your affection my charge of government;* that you, imitating our gentleness, *might relieve the care, which we, in virtue of our headship, by divine institution, owe to all Churches,* and might in some degree discharge our personal visitation to provinces far distant from us. . . . For we have entrusted your affection to represent us on this condition, *that you are called to a part of our solicitude, but not to the fulness of our power.* . . . But if in a matter which you believe fit to be considered and decided on with your brethren, their sentence differs from yours, let everything be referred to us on the authority of the Acts, that all doubtfulness may be removed, and we may decree what pleaseth God. . . . *For the compactness of our unity cannot remain firm, unless the bond of charity weald us into an inseparable whole;* because, 'as we have many members in one Body, and all members have not the same office, so we, being many, are one Body in Christ, and every

one members one of another. For it is the connection of the whole body which makes one soundness and one beauty; and this connection, as it requires unanimity in the whole body, so especially demands concord among Bishops. For, *though these have a like dignity, yet have they not an equal jurisdiction: since even among the most blessed Apostles, as there was a likeness of honour, so was there a certain distinction of power; and, the election of all being equal, pre-eminence over the rest was given to one. From which type the distinction also between Bishops has arisen,* and it was provided by a great ordering that all should not claim to themselves all things, but that in every province there should be one, whose sentence should be considered the first among his brethren; and others again, seated in the greater cities, should undertake a larger care, *through whom the direction of the Universal Church should converge to the one see of Peter, and nothing anywhere disagree from its head.*"

St. Leo wrote this five years before the fourth general Council, which called him, as we have seen, "head over the members," and "father of the children," and "entrusted with the care of the Lord's vine." It is impossible for expressions more perfectly to tally than those of the Council and the Pope.

Let us consider what St. Leo tells us here.

First, he observes that while the Apostles were equal as to all power of Order, that is, as to the whole Sacerdotium, as to what is conferred by consecration, yet as to how they should exercise this power, in what places and under what conditions they were put, under one, viz., St. Peter. And thus, even though they were sent into all the world by our Lord Himself, yet that mission was to be exercised under the pre-eminence of one. This means, in other words, that St. Peter's superiority consisted in his Jurisdiction over them, exactly as St. Jerome says: "Among the twelve one is chosen out, that by the appointment of a head the opportunity for schism might be taken away."

Secondly, "from this type the distinction between Bishops has arisen," namely, that while all were equal as to the Sacerdotium (as the same St. Jerome says, "wherever a Bishop is, be it at Rome, or Eugubium, or Constantinople, or Rhegium, or Alexandria, or Tanæ, he is of the same *rank*, the same *priesthood*"), the jurisdiction of one differs in extent from that of another, as is self-evident in the cases of Rome, and Constantinople, and Alexandria: but likewise, to complete the type, there is a jurisdiction extending equally over all; there is one Peter among the Apostles, and there is Peter's successor too among the Bishops. This he goes on to say. For,—

Thirdly, there is the Bishop over the Diocese, the Metropolitan over the Province, the Primate, or Patriarch, over the Patriarchate,—but all this for one end;—"in which the regimen and sum," as Pope Boniface observes, "consists,"—namely, that "*through* them the direction of the Universal Church should converge to the one see of Peter, and nothing anywhere disagree from its head."

Now here, in the Apostolic, and in the Episcopal Body, in the original "Forma," and in the "Compages" which sprung from it, there are two powers, and no more, of divine institution:—the Primacy of Peter, and the co-Episcopate of the Apostles; the Primacy of Peter's successor, and the co-Episcopate of his brethren.

All that is between, Metropolitical, Primatial, or Patriarchal arrangements, are only of ecclesiastical growth, and therefore subject to diminution, or increase, or alteration; they do but "relieve the care which, in virtue of his headship, by divine institution, the Universal Primate owes to all Churches." The power of this Primate suffers no diminution from their existence; they are not set up *against* him, but *under* him; not to *withdraw* "the care which, in virtue of his headship, he owes to all Churches," but to "*relieve* it."

Circumstances may make it expedient that under him metropolitical powers should be concentrated for whole pro-

vinces in single hands, which should accordingly confirm their subject Bishops, or even Archbishops.

Circumstances again may make it expedient that the Universal Primate should directly and immediately give institution to all Bishops.

But in the one case, equally as in the other, he is *supreme*. If the Patriarch is accused, he hears, judges, absolves, or condemns him. If his ordination is objected to, he confirms or annuls it; if his faith is doubted, he clears or he deprives him. If he is tyrannical, his subject Bishops appeal to the One Head, and are righted.

In the earliest times, when near three centuries of persecution were to try the rising Church, it was expedient, for various reasons, that powers belonging in their fulness to the Universal Primate should be imparted, in a large degree, to others under him: yet, to mark plainly the *source* of these powers, in both cases the mission proceeded from St. Peter. To Alexandria, the second city of the Roman empire, he sent his disciple Mark, with patriarchal powers; at Antioch, the third city, he had sat himself for seven years, and with it he left a portion of his pre-eminence. But the fulness and supremacy of that power which his Lord had given to him, for the unity of the mystical Body, he deposited at Rome. In the first four centuries no see possessed patriarchal powers but the three sees of Peter. Why did no Apostle leave his Apostolic jurisdiction to any Church? St. Paul had founded Ephesus, and St. John had exercised his Apostolic power over it, and all the province of Asia, after Peter's death, but the Bishop of Ephesus held only an inferior rank. Constantinople rose to patriarchal rank only by the overbearing domination of the Greek Emperors, and Jerusalem out of respect to the Lord's city, in the fifth century.

The intense jealousy of everything Western, which is apparent in the Greek mind from the beginning, and after many minor schisms burst out into fatal violence in the time of Photius, is another reason why great powers were given to the sees of Alexandria and Antioch in the first ages.

But, if the Pope, in the "greater causes," called them to account, his supremacy is undoubted.

In later times it has been thought expedient that powers, which at their commencement were emanations from St. Peter's Primacy, as we have seen in the case of Thessalonica, should return to his see, and that the Head of the whole body should directly "confirm his brethren."

Many reasons, doubtless, there were for this,—for instance, would not the very strong nationality which characterizes modern times have broken up the Church into fragments, had the chief Bishop of each nation possessed patriarchal powers, whereas the strong arm of the Roman empire had moulded into one many opposite races, though it could not overcome the inherent antagonism of the Greek to the Latin? Would not, again, the violent jealousy of the civil power have forced its own subjects in each nation to surrender the free exercise of their spiritual rights, but for that bond of divine institution by which our Lord fastened them to the see of St. Peter? Alas for the hapless Church which has broken that bond! Statesmen without a creed will ride over it rough-shod, and lawyers decide points of faith, having power to agonize the conscience, as "in case of appeal from the Admiral's Court."

Thus in the middle of the fifth century the universal supremacy of St. Peter's See, as to the government of the Church's visible society, was publicly stated, both by Pope and by General Council, and lies at the basis of the whole structure of the Church's discipline in the preceding centuries. In its essence it was exactly the same, in its extent neither more nor less, than it is now: for it was given by our Lord at the birth of the Church, and all other and inferior powers were sealed up in it.

But was this supremacy equally indisputable in matters of faith? Here we might answer, that he who is the source of jurisdiction *must* likewise be the supreme judge of doctrine: for the one great and visible society lives by and on its faith,

and he who maintains unity in its outward framework, must likewise guard that belief, and preserve pure the soul which animates the body. Moreover, so often as outward communion is imperilled by a breach of faith, the question of faith is inextricably mixed up with the question of communion, and one decision determines both. The claim of spiritual jurisdiction will crush any power, save that which Christ has made to bear it. Or, again, we might say that, as a fact, we owe the true doctrine of the Incarnation, under God, to this same St. Leo. The Eastern Church, partly overborne by the civil power, whose chief minister was a friend of the heresiarch, and partly sick of a deep inward taint, which it never had strength to throw off, had gone into the heresy of Eutyches; legitimately assembled in a General Council, it had actually accepted his doctrine. St. Leo annulled the Council; St. Leo condemned the doctrine. He caused to assemble once more in a larger Council that East which through centuries was swayed backward and forward by the will of its Princes, caused six hundred Bishops to receive his letter, word for word, in which the true faith was authoritatively defined, and so was the means of keeping them for four centuries, as it were in spite of themselves, in the unity of the Church.

But we will turn to another controversy—one of the most subtle which has ever distressed the Church—one which harassed St. Augustine for many a year. Whither, after all his labours, writings, and prayers, in the Pelagian controversy, did he turn for its final solution? To St. Peter's chair. Two African Councils had condemned Pelagius, and their decrees, drawn up by St. Augustine, were sent for approval to Pope Innocent I., together with another letter from St. Augustine himself and some friends, in which he says: "We do not pour back our *streamlet* for the purpose of increasing your great *fountain*, but in this, not however a slight temptation of the time (whence may He deliver us, to whom we cry, Lead us not into temptation!), we wish it to be

decided by you *whether our stream, however small, flows forth from that same head of rivers whence comes your own abundance;* and by your answers to be consoled respecting our common participation of one grace." *

In reply, A.D. 416, St. Innocent praises the Council of Carthage, that "in inquiring concerning these matters, which it behoves to be treated with all care by Bishops, and especially by a true, just, and Catholic Council, observing the precedents of ancient tradition, and mindful of ecclesiastical discipline, you have confirmed the strength of our religion not less now in consulting us, than by sound reason before you pronounced sentence, inasmuch as you approved of reference being made to our judgment, knowing what is due to the Apostolic See, since all we who are placed in this position desire to follow the Apostle himself, *from whom the very Episcopate and all the authority of this title sprung.* Following whom, we know as well how to condemn the evil as to approve the good. And this too, that, guarding, according to the duty of Bishops, the institutions of the Fathers, ye resolve that these regulations should not be trodden under foot, which they, *in pursuance of no human but a Divine sentence, have decreed; viz. that whatever was being carried on, although in the most distant and remote provinces, should not be terminated before it was brought to the knowledge of this See; by the full authority of which the just sentence should be confirmed, and that thence all other Churches might derive what they should order, whom they should absolve, whom, as being bemired with ineffaceable pollution, the stream that is worthy only of pure bodies should avoid; so that from their parent source all waters should flow, and through the different regions of the whole world the pure streams of the fountain well forth uncorrupted.*" †

Here we have St. Innocent affirming, (1) that questions respecting the Faith had always been referred to the judgment of the Holy See; (2) that this tradition rested on Scripture, that is, on the prerogatives granted by our Saviour to St.

* Epist. p. 177. † Coustant, Ep. Rom. Pontif. p. 868.

Peter; (3) that decisions emanating from the Holy See were not liable to any error, "that the pure streams of the fountain should well forth uncorrupted;" (4) that all the Churches of the world had ever been bound to conform to them, "that thence all other Churches might derive what they should order," etc.*

To the Council of Numidia St. Innocent says: "Therefore do ye diligently and becomingly consult the secrets of the Apostolical honour (that honour, I mean, on which, beside those things that are without, the care of all the Churches attends), as to what judgment is to be passed on doubtful matters, following, in sooth, the prescription of the ancient rule, which you know, as well as I, has ever been preserved in the whole world. But this I pass by, for I am sure your prudence is aware of it: for how could you by your actions have confirmed this, save as knowing that throughout all provinces answers are ever emanating as from the Apostolic fountain to inquirers? Especially so often as a matter of faith is under discussion, I conceive that all our brethren and fellow-Bishops can only refer to Peter, that is, *the source of their own name and honour*, just as your affection hath now referred, for what may benefit all Churches in common throughout the whole world. For the inventors of evils must necessarily become more cautious, when they see that at the reference of a double synod they have been severed from ecclesiastical communion by our sentence. Therefore your charity will enjoy a double advantage; for you will have at once the satisfaction of having observed the canons, and the whole world will have the use of what you have gained: for who among Catholics will choose any longer to hold discourse with the adversaries of Christ?"

Here we may observe, besides what was said above, (1) that nothing concerning faith was held for decided, before it was carried to the See of St. Peter, and had received the Pope's sentence; (2) that before his sentence the determina-

* Petit Didier, *in loc.*

tion of particular Councils only held good provisionally,—"what judgment is to be passed on doubtful matters;" (3) that such determination only had the force of a consultation or relation as to a difficulty, made to the Pope before his own sentence,—"at the relation," he says, "of a double synod;" (4) that the Pope's sentence, by which he confirmed Councils, was a final judgment, excluding the condemned from the Church's communion,—"when they see that they have been severed from ecclesiastical communion by our sentence;" (5) that Bishops, as well as the faithful in general, always submitted themselves to such a decree. "Who among Catholics will choose any longer to hold discourse with the adversaries of Christ?" *

St. Innocent the Third could have said no more about the powers of his See; what does St. Augustine observe upon it?

"He answered to all as was right, and as it became the prelate of the Apostolical See." † And as to the effect of his answer, there are famous words of St. Augustine, which have passed into a proverb: "Already two Councils on this matter have been sent to the Apostolic See; replies from whence have also been received. *The cause is terminated;* would that the error may presently terminate likewise!" ‡

We need no more to tell us what St. Augustine meant by that "Headship, which," he says, "had ever flourished in the Apostolic See." § It involves, we see, the necessity that all other Churches should agree in faith with it, as having deposited in itself the root of the Apostolic confession, concerning the two natures of our Lord, to which the promise was given by our Lord, that the Church should be built upon it. St. Augustine and St. Innocent express the one true faith under St. Cyprian's image of the fountain, who in the same most remarkable passage where he sets forth the "one Episcopate, of which each holds a part without division of the whole," says, "as from one fountain numberless rivers flow,

* Petit Didier, *in loc.*
† Epist. 186.
‡ Tom. v. p. 645.
§ Epist. 43.

widely as their number may be diffused in broad abundance, yet unity is preserved in the source;—one still is the head, and the origin one."

The power, therefore, which was to maintain unity of faith and of communion, does so, and can only do so, by having, both in matters concerning faith and in those concerning communion, a coactive jurisdiction, universal, immediate, and supreme. And in the fifth century this power is seen in undisputed operation, referring back to our Lord's institution as its source, and to all preceding ages of the Church for its exercise, and no one charges it with usurpation. And here I must go forward a thousand years, to the date of the Council of Constance, for the purpose of quoting one who was the soul of that Council, and the originator of what are called Gallican opinions, who yet, as will be seen, expresses exactly the same doctrine as St. Innocent and St. Leo above, respecting the relation between the Papacy and the Episcopate.

"The Papal dignity was instituted by Christ, supernaturally and immediately, as holding a monarchical and royal primacy in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, according to which unique and supreme dignity the Church militant is called one under Christ: which dignity whosoever presumes to impugn or diminish, or reduce to the level of any particular dignity, if he does this obstinately, is a heretic, a schismatic, impious and sacrilegious. For he falls into a heresy so often expressly condemned from the very beginning of the Church to this day, as well by Christ's institution of the headship of Peter over the other Apostles, as by the tradition of the whole Church, in its sacred declarations and General Councils."

And again: "The Episcopal rank in the Church as to its primary conferring was given immediately by Christ to the Apostles first, as the Papal rank to Peter. The Episcopal rank had in the Apostles and their successors the *use* or *exercise* of its own power subject to Peter, as Pope, and his suc-

cessors, *as he had, and they have, the fontal plenitude of Episcopal authority*. Wherefore, as concerns such things, those of minor rank, that is, having cure of souls, are subject to Bishops, by whom the use of their power is at times restricted, or stopped, and so it is not to be doubted can be done by the Pope, in respect to superior dignitaries, for certain and reasonable causes."

And again, he says: "Of which power (of jurisdiction) the plenitude resides in the supreme Pontiff, and is in him entire potentially; but is derived to others in degrees, according to the legitimate determination of that fontal and prime power." *

The Chancellor Gerson is here only expressing what had been the unbroken belief down to his own times, until the great Western schism originated a long train of disasters which have not yet ceased to agitate Christendom.

But before I pass from this subject, let me say a word on what is meant by spiritual jurisdiction. It is a term of law as well as of theology, and it is desirable to clear up any ambiguity which may attend its use, if unexplained.

Every Churchman, then, believes that a Priest, at his ordination, receives certain spiritual powers; and, again, a Bishop, at his consecration, certain others: these are called powers of *order;* they are the same in all Priests, and in all Bishops respectively. As regards these, St. Peter had no superiority over his brethren in the Apostolate, and the Pope has none over his brethren in the Episcopate. As regards these, one Bishop does not excel another Bishop; nor one Priest another Priest. In the whole of the present subject-matter these powers of *order* do not come into question.

But when a Priest has been ordained, where and how, in what place, and under what conditions and restrictions, is he to *exercise* the powers so given him? All these points the Bishop determines by assigning to him a particular flock

* Gerson de Statibus Ecclesiasticis, consid. 1, and De Statu Prælatorum, consid. 2 and 3, and De Potest. Ligandi et Solvendi. The last quoted by Ballerini.

under himself; that is, he gives him *mission*; but he does not therefore cease to be the *immediate* pastor himself of that flock, over whom he sets another as subordinate pastor.

And when a Bishop has been consecrated, who determines where and how, in what place, and under what conditions he is to *exercise* the powers which he has received? That is, who gives the Bishop *mission?* who appoints such and such a person to fill such and such a particular diocese?

This power to give *mission* is purely spiritual, eminently and in the highest degree a gift of our Lord; and upon it depend *for their exercise* all powers whatever which our Lord has committed to His Church for the salvation of souls, and the building of His mystical Body.

Will any honest mind, will any one who loves his Saviour, any one who has the spirit of a freeman in his soul, endure that this power of *mission* should be seized upon and appropriated by the civil Government of a State?

But what is the Catholic answer to the question, "Who gives the Bishop mission?" I will give it in the words of an author to whom I am under great obligations.

"Episcopal jurisdiction cannot be given, save by the Pope alone or by the whole Episcopal body united with the Pope. Let us go to the origin of things. The power to govern populations in order to their eternal salvation, to instruct them, to oblige them to obedience, to bind them by spiritual penalties, in a word, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, was certainly given by Jesus Christ, nor in its origin could it be given by any other than by Him. We are speaking of men united in one society for the spiritual end of eternal salvation, which society is called the Church; we are speaking of flocks purchased by the supreme and eternal Shepherd at the priceless cost of His own blood. We are speaking of a kingdom which is a spiritual kingdom of His own acquiring, recovered from the power of darkness by the victory of the cross, and the glorious triumph over Hell. Lastly, we are speaking of populations which the Divine Father has bestowed on His

Son made Man, giving to Him all power over them. Now, to whom did Jesus Christ condescend to impart this power? To St. Peter alone before any other; next to all the Apostles, comprising therein St. Peter marked out to be, and made, their head. We read not in the word of God, written or handed down, and it is certain that Jesus Christ gave not of Himself immediately to any other this power. The sacred text notes expressly, that when Jesus Christ conferred the power of governing His Church, there were only present the eleven Apostles, and He directed His words only to them. The Evangelist St. Matthew notices the remarkable circumstance that Jesus Christ commanded the eleven Apostles to go into Galilee to a place apart, where He appeared, and gave them their mission to instruct and baptize all nations. Accordingly, the power to govern the Church, which in due propagation of the Episcopate was communicated from hand to hand to others, and has been perpetuated unto us, was by Jesus Christ, before He ascended into heaven, given to the eleven Apostles only, and could not be conferred on others, save by one of the Apostles, who alone had it immediately from Jesus Christ. Bishops, *considered as individuals*, do not succeed to the Apostles in the *fulness* and *universality* of the Episcopate. There is only the Roman Pontiff, successor of St. Peter, and the whole Episcopal Body with the Roman Pontiff at its head succeeding to the Apostolic College, which possesses the Episcopate in all its *fulness*, *universality*, and *sovereignty*, as it was instituted by Jesus Christ. Accordingly, there is only the Roman Pontiff, and the whole Episcopal Body, which has for subjects all Christians, and which extends its jurisdiction over the whole Church. Hence by necessary consequence it follows, that the Roman Pontiff alone, or the whole Episcopal Body, can assign subjects to be governed, and confer Episcopal jurisdiction. Every one else who attempts to do this over subjects not his own, does an act essentially, and of its own intrinsic nature, null and void, since *no one gives what he has not got.*" *

* Bolgeni, L'Episcopato, c. vii. s. 81.

I will add another passage which seems calculated specially to meet Anglican misconceptions of Church government: "Jesus Christ did not divide His flock into so many portions, nor the world into so many dioceses, assigning one to John, one to Andrew, one to Matthew, etc. *He conferred the Episcopate on St. Peter in all its fulness and sovereignty, and thus He conferred it, too, on all the Apostolic College, that is, presided over by St. Peter; each Apostle had a full and universal power in the whole Church, but with subordination to St. Peter.* The Apostles were the first to make a division of nations and dioceses, according as the seed of God's Word bore fruit, and the Christian religion acquired followers through all the earth. Of the Bishops created by the Apostles, some were not fixed to any people or determinate place, but were sent hither and thither according as the need of Christians required. These Bishops acted by an authority delegated from the Apostles, therefore they received it immediately from the Apostles, who had received it from Jesus Christ. Others again were settled in a determinate see, and had assigned a determinate territory to govern; these had a fixed and ordinary jurisdiction, but it is plain that they received it immediately from the Apostles, who constituted them Bishops rather in one place than in another, rather over one people than over another. The disciples of the Apostles pursued the same method in the further propagation of the Episcopate; and by the multiplication of Bishops dioceses became more and more restricted, and the jurisdiction of each Bishop was reduced to more confined limits. It is, then, plain that this jurisdiction was conferred immediately by those who instituted the Bishops, and assigned them to this or that determinate people; and as these institutors acted according to the instructions and the discipline received from the Apostles, so in origin the jurisdiction descended from the Apostles, and from St. Peter, who had received it immediately from Jesus Christ. Thus the streams, however multiplied in their course, as St. Cyprian says, parting themselves to irrigate this or that plot, and

springing one from the other, if you mount upwards, still are found all parted from one fountain, which gave to them the first waters, and the first impulse to their movement." *

Let us only add to this, that he who received the charge, "Feed My sheep," did not cease to be their proper pastor, because he divided them among himself and his brethren, any more than the Bishop, when he commits a portion of his flock to a Priest under him, ceases to be his proper pastor; and as that commission was to last for ever, forasmuch as it included all others in itself, and to have a perpetual succession, because the Church founded on him who held it was never to fail, so his successor ceased not to have a full and proper power "to feed, to rule, and to govern the Universal Church." †

He therefore it is, as the head of the whole Church, and representing it, who gave mission in ancient times to the sees of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, and to all others descending from them; and he in modern times who gives mission to all Bishops directly from his own person; in both cases the fountain-head dwelt in himself undiminished; and this is that universal, immediate, and supreme jurisdiction, which is the proper nature of the Primacy.

* Bolgeni, L'Episcopato, s. 94.
† Definition of the Council of Florence.

Section V.—The Church's Witness to the Primacy.

We have now then considered the Primacy of St. Peter's See as a power in present possession, acknowledged by many various nations, continued on by a most wonderful providence of God, wholly without a parallel, for eighteen hundred years, unchanged while everything else around has changed again and again—that is, empires, races, manners, civilization, literature, the centre of political power, the centre of moral gravity; a power still existing, which has seen all the monarchies of Europe arise as children around it, and all the nations of Europe come to its feet for instruction; and which therefore presents itself with every claim to consideration which a power can have; with a right, moreover, to interpret in its own favour, if indeed that be needful, expressions in ancient authors concerning it, which refer to its headship, without defining it.

We have seen, moreover, that this power is based, not on any grant of the Church of God, not on any concessions of its Bishops from age to age, but on the express words of the Founder of that Church, words so remarkable that they prove themselves to be His Who spake as never man spake, in that while they convey the supreme power which is to rule and guide that Church for ever, to be seated at its heart, and to move its hands, they enfold in themselves the living germ from which all its organization has sprung. In them a root is planted by the Maker of all things, which contains potentially the tree with all its wide-spreading branches, down to the minutest leaf of its vast and varied foliage.

Thirdly, the end and object for which this central power is created has been set forth; that unity of faith and of communion, that building up of the Mystical Body to the measure

of the stature of the perfect man, which is a primary purpose of our Lord's Incarnation, and points to a glory only to be revealed at the "restitution of all things."

Fourthly, the nature of this power has been explained as consisting in a universal, immediate, and supreme jurisdiction over the whole Church, such as the very words of institution themselves convey, and such as is imperatively demanded to fulfil the purpose for which the Lord created the power; nay, for which He Himself became incarnate.

One thing only remains, to show that the Church has borne witness, throughout her existence, to a power which she did not create, the secret of her own union, vigour, and strength. This has only been done in a few instances at present, though these are among the most decisive which antiquity supplies. But I proceed to give abundant proof to every candid mind of what I have heretofore laid down.

The Primitive Church, during nearly three centuries, in which it was exposed to continual persecution, was never assembled in a general Council. During that time it was governed by its one Episcopate, cast into the shape which it had received from the moulding hand of St. Peter himself, at the head of the Apostolic College. That Apostle, in his own lifetime, established three primatial sees, of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch,—the mother Churches of three great patriarchates, which, as Church after Church was propagated from them, and received its Bishop, yet retained over them a parent's right of correction and inspection. Of these, the two latter, the sees of Alexandria and Antioch, were subordinate to the see of Rome, to whose Bishop their Bishops were accountable for the purity of their faith, and the due government of their Church. The records of these three first centuries have in a large degree perished; but we see standing out of them certain facts, which cannot be accounted for but by the Roman Primacy, viz., that the Bishop of Rome, and he alone, claims a control over the Churches of the whole world, threatening to sever from his communion (and sometimes

carrying that threat into execution) such as do not maintain the purity of that faith which he is charged to watch over, and the rules of that communion which had come down from the Apostles. The well-known instances of St. Clement writing to the Church of Corinth to heal its divisions, in the very lifetime of St. John, of St. Victor censuring the Asiatic, and St. Stephen the African Churches, and of St. Dionysius receiving an apology for his faith from his namesake, the Bishop of Alexandria, are sufficient proofs of this. The force of the fact lies in this, that the Bishop of Rome, and he alone, claims, as need may arise, a control over all; but no one claims a control over him.

But as soon as the ages of persecution are past, as soon as the Church Catholic is allowed to develop free action as one corporate whole, and to exert the powers which God had planted within her, St. Peter is found on the throne of the Roman Pontiffs, superintending, maintaining, consolidating, her outward framework and her inward faith.

In the year 325, at the great Nicene Council, the pre-eminent authority of the Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch is acknowledged, the former of these being referred to as a type to sanction a claim of the latter over his subject Bishops, and it is stated that "the Roman Church always had the Primacy." The Bishop of Corduba, in Spain, apparently at once Papal Legate and Imperial Commissioner, and Vitus and Vincentius, Legates of St. Sylvester, presided over the Council, and "it was determined that all these things should be sent to Sylvester, Bishop of the city of Rome," * for his confirmation, which only could make the Council ecumenical, as may be seen even from the fact that of three hundred and eighteen Bishops twenty-two alone belonged to Europe.

In the year 347, a great Council was held at Sardica, intended to be ecumenical. It was presided over by the same Bishop of Corduba, and in its Synodical letter to Pope Julius, tells him, "for this will seem the best, and by far the most

* Codex Canonum Sedis Apostolicæ, St. Leo, tom. iii. p. 46, edit. Ballerini.

fitting, if the Lord's Bishops make reference from all the provinces *to the head, that is, the see of the Apostle Peter.*" *

Thus these two great and most ancient Councils do not in the least *define* the nature of that Primacy which they refer to as an existing fact from the beginning in the Church. So true is that which was stated by a Roman Council of seventy Bishops, under Pope Gelasius in the year 494, which, after naming the Canon of Scripture, the present Roman Canon, says, "next to all these Scriptures of the Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles, on which the Catholic Church by the grace of God is founded, this too we think should be remarked, that though all the Catholic Churches throughout the world be but one bridal-chamber of Christ, yet the holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church has been preferred to the rest by no decrees of a Council, but has obtained the Primacy by the voice in the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Himself, saying: 'Thou art Peter,' etc.

"To whom was given also the society of the most blessed Apostle Paul, the vessel of election, who on one and the same day suffering a glorious death with Peter in the city of Rome, under Cæsar Nero, was crowned; and they alike consecrated to Christ the Lord the above-named holy Roman Church, and as such set it above all the cities in the whole world by their presence and venerable triumph.

"First, therefore, is the Roman Church, the see of Peter the Apostle, 'not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing.'

"But second is the see consecrated at Alexandria, in the name of blessed Peter, by Mark, his disciple and Evangelist, who was sent by Peter the Apostle into Egypt, taught the word of truth, and consummated a glorious martyrdom.

"And third is the see held in honour at Antioch in the name of the same most blessed Apostle Peter, because that he dwelt there before he came to Rome, and there first the name of the new people of the Christians arose." †

* Mansi, iii. 40. † Ibid. viii. 149.

I now, then, proceed to bring witnesses to the seven following points, which I hope to prove in order:

I. A general supremacy in the Roman See over the whole Church; a supremacy exactly the same in principle with that which is now claimed.

II. The grounding of this supremacy on the attribution of Matt. xvi. 18, Luke xxii. 31, and John xxi. 15, in a special sense to the Pope, as successor of St. Peter.

III. The original derivation of Episcopal Jurisdiction from the person of Peter, and its perpetual fountain in the See of Rome as representing him.

IV. The Papal Supremacy over the East, acknowledged by its own rulers and Councils before the separation.

V. The Pope's attitude to Councils, as indicating his rank.

VI. His confirmation of Councils.

VII. The necessity of communion with the Pope.

In so wide a field I can but select the more eminent proofs; but they will be enough to convince all who are capable of conviction.

I. And first, as to general supremacy, I will take the testimony of the great Ecumenical Councils from the third in the year 431, to the eighth in the year 869, for these were all composed of Eastern Bishops, the Papal Legates being often the only, or nearly the only, Westerns present; besides, therefore, their intrinsic authority, they supply a proof that what was stated before them without contradiction, and by them, in favour of the great Western See, was quite indisputable. If any could have disputed it, they would: for "they were all held in the East, by Bishops of the East, under the influence of the Emperors of the East." *

The third Council was held at Ephesus in 431, to judge Nestorius, Archbishop of Constantinople. It was presided over by St. Cyril of Alexandria, by a special commission from Pope Celestine, and besides was attended by three Papal

* Guizot, Civilization en France, 12 leçon.

Legates. The following are some of their proceedings in the Council:—

"Arcadius, Bishop and Legate of the Roman Church, said: 'Let your Blessedness order to be read to you the letters of holy Pope Celestine, Bishop of the Apostolic See, and to be named with all veneration, which have been brought by us, by which your Blessedness will be able to learn *what care he bears for all the Churches*.'" *

In these letters is said: "We have directed, according to our solicitude, our holy brethren and fellow-priests, men of one mind with us and well approved, Arcadius and Projectus, Bishops, and Philip our Presbyter, who shall be present at your acts, *and shall carry into effect what we have before determined; assent to whom we doubt not will be accorded by Your Holiness*." †

This means that the Pope had already condemned Nestorius, and deposed him, unless he retracted, which throws light on the following sentences of the Council on him:—

"*Compelled* by the sacred canons *and the letter of our most holy father and fellow-minister Celestine*, Bishop of the Roman Church, we have with tears come *of necessity* to this painful sentence against him." ‡

Farther on: "Philip, Presbyter and Legate of the Apostolic See, said: 'We return thanks to the holy and venerable Council, that the letters of our holy Pope having been read to you, you have joined yourselves, *as holy members to a holy head*. For your Blessedness is not ignorant *that the blessed Apostle Peter is head of the whole faith, and of the Apostles likewise*.'" §

And again, after hearing the acts against Nestorius read, the same says: "It is doubtful to no one, *but rather known to all ages, that holy and most blessed Peter, prince and head of the Apostles, pillar of the faith, and foundation of the Catholic Church, received from our Lord Jesus Christ, Saviour and Re-*

* Mansi, iv. 1282. † Coustant. Ep. Rom. Pont. 1162.
‡ Mansi, iv. 1211. § Ibid. iv. 1290.

deemer of the human race, the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, and that the power of loosing and binding sins was given to him; who to this very time and for ever lives, and exercises judgment in his successors. And so our most blessed Pope Celestine the Bishop, his successor in due order, and holding his place, has sent to this holy Council us to represent him." *

St. Cyril, having heard this declaration of the Legate, moved that he and the other Legates, "since they had *fulfilled what was ordered them*" by Pope Celestine, should set their hands to the deposition of Nestorius, "and the holy Council said: Inasmuch as Arcadius and Projectus, Legates, and Philip, Presbyter and Legate of the Apostolic See, *have said what is fitting*, it follows that they should also subscribe and confirm the acts."

St. Cyril, most zealous of all men for the rights of the Eastern Church, saw nothing strange in what is here said of the Pope.

In the year 451 the great Council of Chalcedon was called to censure the heresy of Eutyches. St. Leo had, in a letter to Flavian, Archbishop of Constantinople, laid down the true faith; and he speaks in the following letter to the Council of the obedience which he expected to be rendered to his decision.

"In these brethren, Paschasinus and Lucentius, Bishops, Boniface and Basil, Presbyters, who have been sent from the Apostolic See, let your Brotherhood deem me to preside over the Council, my presence not being disjoined from you, for I am there in my representatives, and long since have not been wanting in setting forth the Catholic Faith: for you cannot be ignorant what from ancient tradition we hold, and so cannot doubt what we desire. Wherefore, most dear brethren, *rejecting altogether the boldness of disputing against the faith inspired from above, let the vain unbelief of those who are in error be quiet, nor venture to defend what may not be believed; inasmuch as, according to the authorities of the Gospel, the words*

* Mansi, iv. 1290.

of the Prophets, and the Apostolic doctrine, it has been most fully and clearly declared, in the letter we have sent to the Bishop Flavian of happy memory, what is the pious and sincere confession concerning the mystery of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ." *

Dioscorus, Archbishop of Alexandria, and President of the Council at Ephesus two years before, had taken his place among the Bishops; but at the very opening of the Council, Paschasinus, Legate of the Apostolic See, said: "We have in our hands the commands of the most blessed and Apostolic man, Pope of the City of Rome, *which is the head of all Churches, in which his Apostleship has thought good to order that Dioscorus should not sit in the Council,* but be introduced to make his defence." And Lucentius, another Legate, gives the reason:—"He must give an account of the judgment he passed; inasmuch as not having the right to judge, he presumed, and *dared to hold a Council without the authority of the Apostolic See, which never was lawful, never has been done.*" †

And Dioscorus takes his seat as a criminal.

The condemnation of Dioscorus is afterwards passed in the following terms by the Pope's legates:—"Paschasinus,—and Lucentius,—and Boniface,—pronounced. *Leo,* most holy and blessed Archbishop of great and elder Rome, *by us, and by this holy Council, together with the most blessed Apostle Peter, who is the Rock and ground of the Catholic Church, and the foundation of the right faith,* hath stripped him as well of the rank of Bishop, as also hath severed him from all sacerdotal ministry." ‡

All assent to this.

Moreover, the Council subscribes to every particle of St. Leo's letter.

I have already given above the substance of their letter to him. No stronger terms can be found to express the Supremacy, than those there voluntarily tendered to him.

* St. Leon. Ep. 93. † Mansi, vi. 579, 582.
‡ Ibid. vi. 1047.

Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople, humbly assures him, as the Council had done, "that all the force of the acts and their confirmation had been reserved to the authority of your Blessedness." * Notwithstanding, St. Leo confirms their decrees only as to matters of faith, and refuses the Canon about the see of Constantinople.

Thus the full Papal Supremacy is set forth in these two Councils, held at the most flourishing period of the ancient Church; and not only so, but it is recognized as existing from the beginning, and founded on the prerogatives given by our Lord to Peter, whose person is viewed as continued on in his successors; and the grant of infallibility, deposited in the Church, is not obscurely declared to be seated in the person of her chief.

The two opposed heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches had distracted the East for more than two centuries after the Council of Chalcedon. At length, in the year 680, the sixth General Council meets at Constantinople, to censure the Monothelite error, the last refinement of Grecian subtlety upon the grosser form of Eutyches. The Roman empire of the West had long fallen; the political estrangement between the two parts of Christendom much increased. But the acknowledgment of the Pope's headship is as definite as ever.

Pope Agatho writes thus to the Emperor:

"Peter, who by a triple commendation received the spiritual sheep of the Church from the Redeemer of all Himself, to be fed by him; under whose safeguard this his Apostolical Church hath never turned aside from the path of truth to any error whatsoever; whose authority, as of the Prince of all the Apostles, the whole Catholic Church at all times, and the universal Councils faithfully embracing, have in all respects followed." †

* St. Leo, Ep. 132.

† Mansi, xi. 239, wherein note the inerrancy of the Apostolic See asserted by the Pope, and afterwards acknowledged by the Council, forty years after the death of Pope Honorius.

His letter is read in the Council, and approved; and it answers him thus:

"Greatest diseases require stronger remedies, as you know, O most Blessed; and therefore Christ, our true God, the Virtue truly Creator and Governor of all things, hath given us a wise physician, your Holiness, honoured of God; who firmly repellest the contagious plague of heresy by the antidotes of orthodoxy, and impartest the strength of health to the members of the Church. And therefore we willingly leave what should be done to you, as Prelate of the first See of the Universal Church, *standing on the firm rock of faith*, having read through the letter of a true confession sent by your Paternal Blessedness to our most religious Emperor; *which we recognize as divinely written from the supreme head of the Apostles.*"*

A hundred years later, in 789, Pope Hadrian writes to Tarasius, the newly elected Patriarch of Constantinople, a letter, which is read in the seventh General Council, and expressly approved and accepted both by the Archbishop and the Council. He begins by speaking of "the pastoral care with which it befits us to feed the people of God;" goes on to say, that only the correctness of faith in Tarasius allowed him to overlook the irregularity of his promotion from a layman; and then, after quoting "Thou art Peter," adds, "whose see is conspicuous, as holding primacy over the whole world, and is the head of all the Churches of God. Whence the same blessed Apostle Peter, by the charge of the Lord feeding the Church, hath left nothing out of his range, but always hath held and holds the headship. To which, if your Holiness desires to adhere, and with a pure and uncorrupt mind, in the sincerity of your heart, studies to keep the sacred and orthodox mould of doctrine delivered by our Apostolic See," † etc.

This seventh Council, rejecting a former great Council of some hundred Bishops, held thirty years before at Constantinople, from being general, says:

* Mansi, xi. 683. † Ibid. xii. 1077–1084.

"How was it great and universal? for it had not the countenance of the Roman Pope of that time, nor of the Bishops who are about him, nor by his Legates, nor by an encyclical letter, *as the law of Councils requires.*" *

But far more remarkable yet are the proceedings of the eighth Council, in 869, as if Providence had willed that before the Greek schism was accomplished, the strongest possible testimony against itself, and for that authority which it would be led in self-defence to deny, should be borne by the Patriarchs and Bishops of the East.

At the beginning of the Council, the Papal Legates require that every Bishop should sign and deliver to them for transmission to the Pope a profession of faith, similar in its chief parts to that which had been sent more than three hundred years before from Pope Hormisdas to the Patriarch of Constantinople, after the schism of Acacius, on signing which the Patriarch and all the Bishops of the East were re-admitted to communion.

The Legates are obeyed. The profession runs thus:

"Because the sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ cannot be passed by, who says: 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church:' these words are proved by the real effect which has followed; because in the Apostolic See the Catholic religion has ever been kept immaculate, and holy doctrine celebrated there. Wherefore, by no means desiring to be separated from its faith and doctrine, and following in all things the constitutions of the Fathers, and chiefly of the holy Prelates of the Apostolic See, we anathematize all heresies. . . . Condemning, particularly, Photius and Gregory of Syracuse, *parricides*, that is, *who have not feared to put out their tongue against their Spiritual Father.* Since, following in all things the Apostolic See, and observing in all things its constitutions, we hope that we may be worthy to be in one communion, which the Apostolic See sets forth, *in which is the complete and true solidity of the Christian*

* Mansi, xiii. 207.

religion. But this my profession I (such a Bishop) have written with my own hand, and delivered to thee, most holy Hadrian, Supreme Pontiff and Universal Pope." *

The following letter of St. Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople, to Pope Nicholas, was also read and approved in the Council. It begins:

"Of the wounds and sores of human members art has produced many physicians; of whom one has treated this disease, and another that, using in their experience amputation or cure. But of diseases which are in the members of our Saviour Christ and God, the Head of us all, and of His spouse the Catholic and Apostolic Church, the Supreme Chief and most powerful Word, Orderer, and Healer, and Master, the God of all, hath produced one singular, pre-eminent, and most Catholic Physician, your fraternal Holiness and paternal Goodness. Wherefore He said to Peter, the great and supreme Apostle: 'Thou art Peter,' etc. And again: 'I will give to thee the keys,' etc. For such blessed words He did not, surely, according to a sort of lot, circumscribe and define to the prince of the Apostles alone, but transmitted by him to all, who, after him, according to him, were to be made supreme Pastors, and most divine and sacred Pontiffs of olden Rome. And, therefore, from of old, and the ancient times, when heresies and contradictions have arisen, many of those who preceded there your Holiness and supreme Paternity, have many times been made the pluckers-up and destroyers of evil tares, and of sick members, plague-struck and incurable; being, that is, successors of the prince of the Apostles, and imitating his zeal in the faith, according to Christ: and now in our times, your Holiness hath worthily exercised the power given to you by Christ." †

This letter also of Pope Nicholas to the Emperor Michael was read and approved in the Council.

"That headship of divine power, which the Maker of all

* Mansi, xvi. 27. † Ibid. xvi. 47.

things has bestowed on His elect Apostles, He hath, by establishing its solidity on the unshaken faith of Peter, prince of the Apostles, made his see pre-eminent, yea, the first. For, by the word of the Lord it was said to him, 'Thou art Peter,' etc. Moreover, Peter so entirely ceases not to maintain for his own people the structure of the Universal Church unshaken and rooted in the strength of faith, from the firmness of the Rock, which is Christ, that he hastens to reform by the rule of right faith the madness of the wandering. For, according to the faithful maintenance of the Apostolical tradition, as yourselves know, the holy Fathers have often met, by whom it has both been resolved and observed, that without the consent of the Roman See and the Roman Pontiff no emergent deliberation should be terminated." *

To Photius himself Pope Nicholas says, as read in the Council, after setting forth the Primacy in like terms:

"Because the whole number of believers seeks doctrine, asks for the integrity of the faith, and those who are worthy the deliverance from crimes—from this holy Roman Church, which is the head of all Churches, it behoves us, to whom it is entrusted, to be anxious, and the more fervently to be set on watch over the Lord's flock," etc.†

And this letter of the same Pope to the Archbishops, Metropolitans, and Bishops, subject to the see of Constantinople, is also read in the Council.

"Wherefore, because, as your wisdom knows, we are bound by the care of all Christ's sheep, holding through the abundance of heavenly grace, his place, to whom is especially said by God: 'Feed my sheep:' and again: 'And thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren;' we could not so dissimulate or neglect, but that we should visit our sheep dispersed and scattered, and confirm in the faith and good conduct our brethren and neighbours." ‡

Lastly, in its second Canon, the Council itself enacts:—"Obey those set over you, and be subject to them, for

* Mansi, xvi. 59. † Ibid. xvi. 69. ‡ Ibid. xvi. 101.

they watch for your souls, as those that shall give account: thus Paul, the great Apostle, commands. *Therefore*, holding most blessed Pope Nicholas for the organ of the Holy Spirit, as too, most holy Pope Hadrian, his successor, we decree and approve that all things, which by them at different times have been set forth and promulged synodically, as well for the defence of the Church of Constantinople, as for the expulsion of Photius, be kept and maintained." *

And in the twenty-first Canon it forbids even a general Council "boldly to give sentence against the supreme Pontiffs of elder Rome." †

And here, indeed, one might stop; for supremacy as to government, and infallibility as to faith, have been, in these extracts of the ancient Councils, again and again set forth as belonging to the see of Rome. What more can be asked?

St. Ambrose, in the year 390, at the head of his Council of Bishops, thus thanked Pope Siricius for condemning the heretic Jovinian, and transmitting his condemnation to all Churches: "We recognize in the letter of your Holiness the watchfulness of the good shepherd, who carefully guards the door committed to you, and with pious solicitude defends Christ's fold, worthy whom the Lord's sheep may hear and follow.—And so Jovinian, Auxentius, etc., whom your Holiness has condemned, know to be condemned by us likewise, according to your judgment." ‡

The Decretal Letters of the Popes of the first three centuries have perished; but with Siricius, in the year 384, a complete series of them commences. They are the public acts of the Church's chief Bishop, in his ordinary government, written to Bishops all over the world, and accepted as laws by them to whom they were written. A learned writer, who has compiled the most ancient, says of them: "Out of so many Pontiffs singular for their learning and holiness, whom I will not say to charge, but even to suspect, of arrogance, or pride, were rash in the highest degree, not

* Mansi, xvi. 160. † Ibid. xvi. 174. ‡ Ibid. iii. 664.

one will be found who does not believe that this prerogative has been conferred on himself or his Church, to be the head of the whole Church. On the other hand, among so many great Churches of the Christian world, founded by the Apostles or their successors, not one will be found whose Prelate was so ambitious as to venture to call himself head of the whole Church." *

Let us see how this appears in all the demeanour and language of these ancient Popes: how exactly the power which is claimed and exercised now was claimed and exercised at the end of the fourth century, and from that time forward, not as a new thing, but as existing from the first, by our Lord's institution, and as in full and undisputed operation.

Siricius, A.D. 385, to the Bishop of Tarragona, in Spain, says: "We bear the burdens of all who labour, or rather, the blessed Apostle Peter bears these in us, who in all things, as we trust, protects and defends us, the heirs of his administration." And, "you have made reference to the Roman Church, that is, *the head of your body*." †

His successor, Anastasius, to John, Bishop of Jerusalem, A.D. 400, condemning the opinions of Origen: "Certainly I shall not be wanting in care to guard the faith of the Gospel *in respect to my populations*, and so far as I am able to hold intercourse, by letters, *with the parts of my body* over the different countries of the Earth." ‡

His successor, Innocent, two letters from whom, so highly praised by St. Augustine, I have given above, speaks, A.D. 410, to the Bishop of Nocera, "as referring to us, *that is, the head and apex of the Episcopate*." §

Pope Celestine, in 430, writes to the clergy and people of Constantinople, harassed by the heresy of Nestorius: "When I am about to speak to those who make up the Church, let the Apostle's words furnish me with a beginning: 'beside all those things which are without my daily pressure of toil, the

* Coustant. Pref. p. iii. † Ibid. 624, 637.
‡ Ibid. 728. § Ibid. 910.

care of all the Churches.'—So we, too, though at a great distance, when *we learnt that our members were being rent* by perverse doctrine, *in our paternal solicitude burning us for you,* were kindled at the fire which was scorching others: although among the Churches of God, which everywhere make up one bridal-chamber of Christ, nothing be distant, nothing can be accounted as foreign. *Since, therefore, you are our bowels,*" etc.*

His successor, Xystus, announcing his election to St. Cyril, says: "God hath deigned to call us to the supreme height of the Priesthood." †

Pope Zosimus, successor of St. Innocent, and two years after the letters quoted above from him, writes thus in 418, to Aurelius, Primate of Africa, and the Council of Carthage: "Although the tradition of the Fathers has assigned so great an authority to the Apostolic See, that no one may venture to call in question its judgment, and has maintained this always by its canons and rules, and though ecclesiastical discipline, as shown in the current of its laws, pays the reverence which it owes to the name of Peter, *from whom likewise itself descends:* for canonical antiquity, by the judgment of all, hath willed the power of this Apostle to be so great, from the very promise of Christ our God, that he can loose what is bound, and bind what is loosed; and an equal power is given to those who enjoy, with his consent, the inheritance of his see; for he has a care as well for all Churches, as especially for this, where he sat: nor does he permit any blast to shake a privilege or a sentence, to which he has given the form and immovable foundation of his own name, and which, without danger to themselves, none may rashly attack: Peter then, being a head of such authority, and the zeal of all our ancestors having further confirmed this, so that the Roman Church is established by all human as well as divine laws and discipline — whose place you are not ignorant that we rule, and hold the power of his name—

* Coustant. 1131. † Ibid. 1231.

rather, most dear brethren, you know it, and as Bishops are bound to know it; such then, I say, being our authority, *that no one can question our sentence,* we have done nothing which we have not of our own accord referred in our letters to your knowledge." *

But the civil power of that day agreed with the Pope in its estimate of his rights. The following is the edict of the Emperor Valentinian, given when St. Leo met with opposition from Hilary of Arles, in 445.

"Since, therefore, the merit of St. Peter, who is the chief of the Episcopal coronet, and the dignity of the Roman city, moreover, the authority of a sacred Synod, have confirmed the Primacy of the Apostolic See, that presumption may not endeavour to attempt anything unlawful contrary to the authority of that see; for then at length the peace of the Churches will everywhere be preserved, if the whole (*universitas*) acknowledge its ruler. These rules having been kept inviolably hitherto, etc. We decree, by this perpetual command, that no Gallican Bishops, nor those of the other provinces, may attempt to do anything contrary to ancient custom without the authority of the venerable man, the Pope of the Eternal City; *but let them all deem that a law, whatsoever the authority of the Apostolic See hath sanctioned or may sanction.*" †

In the year 499, Pope Symmachus was unjustly accused on a charge of immorality. The Bishops of Italy, whom King Theodoric wished to try him, told the king, "that the person who was attacked ought himself to have called the Council, knowing that to his see, *in the first place the rank or chiefship of the Apostle Peter, and then the authority of venerable Councils following out the Lord's command, had committed a power without its like* in the Churches: nor would a precedent be easily found to show, that in a similar matter the Prelate of the aforementioned see had been subject to the judgment of his inferiors." ‡ Even when the Pope sanctioned the Council,

* Coustant. 974. † Baronius, Ann. 445. ‡ Mansi, viii. 248.

they refused to try him, pronouncing him, "so far as regards men, discharged and free, because the whole matter has been left to the divine judgment."

Yet jealous as they had been of the Pope's rights, the Bishops of Gaul were in alarm at the very thought of his being tried. Their feelings were expressed, in the name of all, by the most illustrious of their number, St. Avitus of Vienne, who in a letter to the Roman Senators, Faustus and Symmachus, says: "We were in a state of anxiety and alarm about the cause of the Roman Church, inasmuch as we felt *that our order was endangered by an attack upon its head.*" Again, further on: "What licence for accusation against the headship of the Universal Church ought to be allowed?" And, "As a Roman Senator and a Christian Bishop, I conjure you that the state of the Church be not less precious to you than that of the Commonwealth. If you judge the matter with your profound consideration, not merely is that cause which was examined at Rome to be contemplated, but as, if in the case of other Bishops any danger be incurred, it can be repaired, *so if the Pope of the City be put in question, not a single Bishop, but the Episcopate itself, will appear to be in danger. He who rules the Lord's fold* will render an account how he administers the care of the lambs entrusted to him; but it belongs not to the flock to alarm its own shepherd, but to the judge. Wherefore restore to us, if it be not yet restored, concord in our chief." *

No mediæval Saint, as it seems, understood the Pope's office and universal charge better than St. Avitus.

Ennodius, afterwards Bishop of Ticinum, wrote a defence of this Council, which was so approved as to be put among the Apostolical decrees. In this he says: "God perchance has willed to terminate the causes of other men by means of men; but the Prelate of that see He hath reserved, without question, to His own judgment. It is His will that the successors of the blessed Apostle Peter should owe their inno-

* Mansi, viii. 293.

cence to Heaven alone, and should manifest a pure conscience to the inquisition of the most severe Judge. Do you answer, such will be the condition of all souls in that scrutiny? I retort, *that to one was said:* 'Thou art Peter,' etc. And again, that by the voice of holy Pontiffs, the dignity of his see has been made venerable in the whole world, *since all the faithful everywhere are submitted to it, and it is marked out as the head of the whole Body.*" *

The same St. Avitus, writing a few years later to Pope Hormisdas, says: "Whilst you see that it is suitable to the state of religion, and to the full rules of the Catholic faith, *that the ever-watchful care of your exhortation should inform the flock committed to you throughout all the members of the Universal Church.* As to the devotion of all Gaul, I will promise that all are watching for your sentence respecting the state of the faith." †

And to Senarius, Count of the Patrimony of Theodoric: "You know that it is one of the laws regarding Councils, that, in things which pertain to the state of the Church, if any doubt arises, *we should, as obedient members, recur to the supreme Bishop of the Roman Church, as to our head.*" ‡

When Pope Silverius, by a succession of intrigues, had been banished from Rome, under Justinian, in the year 538, he came to Patara, the Bishop of which city went to the Emperor, "and called to witness the judgment of God respecting the expulsion of the Bishop of so great a see, saying that there were in this world many Kings, but not one, as that Pope is, over the Church of the whole world." §

No one, so far as I know, has ever accused the great Pope Gregory of usurpation, least of all should an Englishman. He wrote to the Emperor of the day: "To all who know the Gospel, it is manifest *that the charge of the whole Church was entrusted by the voice of the Lord to the holy Apostle Peter,* chief of all the Apostles. For to him is said: 'Peter, lovest thou

* Mansi, viii. 284. † Ibid. viii. 408. ‡ Gallandi, x. 726.
§ Baronius, Annal. 538, 13, from Liberatus Diaconus.

Me? feed My sheep.' To him is said: 'Behold, Satan hath desired to sift you,' etc. To him is said: 'Thou art Peter,' etc. Lo, *he hath received the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, the power of binding and loosing is given to him, the care of the whole Church is committed to him, and the Primacy,* and yet he is not called Universal Apostle." * St. Gregory well knew that in his own simple title, "Gregory, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God," everything was conveyed; he was pre-eminently *the Bishop,* and needed not the titles Ecumenical Patriarch, or Universal Apostle, to set forth his charge of Supreme Shepherd. St. Gregory, like all his predecessors, and all his successors, was well assured that the Rock was that single point of the Church which could never be moved. "Who is ignorant," says he, "that the holy Church *is established on the firmness of the chief of the Apostles,* who in his name expressed the firmness of his mind, being called Peter from the Rock?" †

This is again attested by an Eastern, St. Maximus, Abbot of Constantinople, afterwards martyred for the faith. He says in a certain letter concerning Pyrrhus, Patriarch of Constantinople, a chief of the Monothelites, about 650: "If he would neither be a heretic, nor be considered one, let him not satisfy this or that person, for this is superfluous and irrational; since just as when *one* is scandalized by him, *all* are scandalized; so when *one* is satisfied, *all* beyond a doubt are satisfied too. Let him hasten before all to satisfy the Roman See. That done, all will everywhere, with one accord, hold him pious and orthodox. For he merely talks idly when he thinks of persuading and imposing on such like as me, and does not satisfy and implore the most blessed Pope of the most holy Roman Church, that is, the Apostolic See, *which from the very Incarnate Word of God, but also from all holy Councils, according to the sacred canons and rules has received and holds in all persons, and for all things, empire, authority, and power to bind and to loose, over the universal holy Churches*

* St. Greg. Ep. lib. v. 20. † Ibid. lib. vii. 40.

of God, which are in all the world. For when this binds and looses, so also does the Word in Heaven, who rules the celestial virtues." * And just before, "Who anathematizes *the Roman See, that is, the Catholic Church.*"

Once more let us take another Eastern, St. Theodore, Abbot of the Studium, at Constantinople, who, in the year 809, writes:

"To the most holy and supreme Father of Fathers, My Lord Leo, Apostolic Pope:—

"Since on the great Peter, Christ our God, after the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, conferred also the dignity of the pastoral Headship, to Peter surely, or his successor, whatever innovation is made in the Catholic Church by those who err from the truth must be referred.—Save us, Arch-pastor of the Church which is under Heaven." †

Now, from these testimonies it will be seen that the nature of the supremacy which they set forth is, a charge of the whole flock of our Lord Jesus Christ, reaching therefore to every need of the flock, not *intruding* on the particular duties of any subordinate pastorship, but embracing, regulating, and maintaining all, so that the same great Pontiff observes: "As to what he says that he is subject to the Apostolical See, *I know not what Bishop is not subject to it, if any fault be found in Bishops. But when no fault requires it, all are equal according to the estimation of humility;*" ‡ who also charges his defensor in Sicily not to meddle with the jurisdiction of Bishops; and censuring an act of disobedience in another Bishop, tells him: "Had either of the four Patriarchs done this, so great an act of contumacy could not have been passed over without the most grievous scandal." § And this charge necessarily includes guardianship of the faith, and therefore the supreme judgment in causes touching it, and, by consequence, the gift of not being deceived in that judgment.

It is a dream to imagine any other or lesser Primacy than this, which alone could maintain unity.

* Mansi, x. 692.
† Baronius, Annal. 809, 14.
‡ St. Greg. Ep. lib. ix. 59.
§ Ibid. lib. ii. 52.

II. With regard to the second point, almost every testimony hitherto adduced grounds the Primacy on one or other, or all, of the three sayings of our Lord to Peter, who is invariably regarded as continued on, and living in his successors. And this brings me to the third point.

III. The ordinary government of the Church is perpetually referred back to Peter, as the great type of the Bishop; in fact, the first Bishop himself, and of the whole flock, and so the root and origin of the Episcopate; but as his person was to be continued on through all his successors, and the Episcopate to be an ever-subsisting power, so he is viewed as a living root ever upbearing the tree, and a fountain ever casting forth its stream. Let us see this idea, *possessing*, as it did in truth, the early Fathers, carried out from their hints and intimations into more and more perfect consciousness, till it is evolved by the complete reason and the fervent love of a St. Thomas and a St. Bonaventure.

First, Tertullian in the second century: "For if thou thinkest the heaven yet shut, remember that the Lord has left the keys of it to St. Peter, and *through him to the Church*." *

The whole mind of St. Cyprian seems penetrated with this thought. Thus he says:

"This will be" (that is, falling away from the Church into heresy and schism), "most dear brethren, so long as there is no regard *to the source of truth*, no looking *to the head*, nor keeping to the doctrine of our Heavenly Master. If any one consider and weigh this, he will not need length of comment or argument. It is easy to offer proofs to a faithful mind, because in that case the truth may be quickly stated. The Lord saith unto Peter: 'I say unto thee,' saith He, 'that thou art Peter,' etc. To him again, after His resurrection, He says: 'Feed My sheep.' Upon him, being one, He builds His Church; and though He gives to all the Apostles an equal power, and says: 'As My Father hath sent Me, even so I send you,' etc.; yet, in order to manifest unity, He has, by

* Scorpiace, 10.

His own authority, so placed the source of the same unity *as to begin from one*. Certainly the other Apostles also were what Peter was, endued with an equal fellowship both of honour and power; *but a commencement is made from unity*, that the Church may be set before us as one; which one Church in the Song of Songs doth the Holy Spirit design and name in the person of our Lord: 'My Dove, My Spotless One, is but one; she is the only one of her mother; elect of her that bare her.' He who holds not this unity of the Church, does he think that he holds the faith? He who strives against and resists the Church, is he assured that he is in the Church? For the blessed Apostle Paul teaches this same thing, and manifests the sacrament of unity thus speaking: 'There is one Body and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God.' This unity firmly should we hold and maintain, especially we Bishops presiding in the Church, in order that we may approve the Episcopate itself to be *one* and *undivided*. Let no one deceive the Brotherhood by falsehood; no one corrupt the truth of our faith by a faithless treachery. The Episcopate is one, of which a part is held by each *without division of the whole*. The Church, too, is one, though she be spread abroad, and multiplies with the increase of her progeny. Even as the sun has rays many, yet one light; and the tree boughs many, yet its strength is one, seated in the deep-lodged root; and as, when many streams flow down from one source, though a multiplicity of waters seem to be diffused from its broad overflowing abundance, unity is preserved in the source itself. Part a ray of the sun from its orb, and its unity forbids this division of light; break a branch from the tree, once broken it can bud no more; cut the stream from its fountain, the remnant will be dried up.

"Thus the Church, flooded with the light of the Lord, puts forth her rays through the whole world, yet with one light, which is spread upon all places, while its unity of Body is not infringed. She stretches forth her branches over the

universal earth, in the riches of plenty, and pours abroad her bountiful and onward streams; yet there is one Head, one Source, one Mother, abundant in the results of her fruitfulness."

Now, in this famous passage no one can doubt that Cyprian is setting forth the Church Catholic, and his very drift is to prove against heresy and schism that she is *one*, and not only *undivided*, but *indivisible*. What, then, is the counterpart in his mind to the images of the sun's orb, the tree's root, the fountain, the head, and the mother? What, but the person and see of Peter, with which he began? It is easy, he says, to offer proofs of faith, because the truth is quickly stated. What truth? Peter's Primacy, and Universal Pastorship.*

And to this he refers again and again: "Peter thus speaks, *Upon whom the Church was to be built, teaching in the name of the Church.*" † "Peter, whom *first* the Lord chose, upon whom He built His Church." ‡ "Peter, upon whom the Church was founded by God's condescendence." § "One Church founded by Christ the Lord upon Peter in the origin and principle of unity." ‖ "The Lord to Peter *first, upon whom He built the Church, and from whom He instituted and set forth the origin of unity*, gave that power, that what he had 'loosed on earth should be loosed in heaven.'" ¶ "God is one, and Christ one, and the Church one, and *one the chair founded upon the rock by the Lord's voice.*" **

To Pope Cornelius, of himself: "We know that we exhorted them to acknowledge and to hold by *the root and the womb of the Catholic Church.*" And to the same: "They dare to set sail and to carry letters to the Chair of Peter, and that principal Church from which the Unity of the Priesthood took its origin." †† "Our Lord speaks in the Gospel, when He is ordering the honour of the Bishop, and the

* De Unitate Ecclesiæ, 3. † Ep. 69. ‡ Ep. 71.
§ De Bono Patientiæ. ‖ Ep. 70. ¶ Ep. 73.
** Ep. 40. †† Ep. 45 and 55.

principle of His Church, and says to Peter: 'I say unto thee,' etc. *From this*, through the changes of times and successions, the ordination of Bishops, and the principle of the Church, descends, so that the Church is constituted upon Bishops." *

The thought of St. Cyprian is elucidated a little later by St. Optatus. Arguing with a Donatist adversary, he observes: "You cannot deny that you know that the Chair of Peter *first of all* was fixed in the city of Rome, in which Peter, the *head* of all the Apostles, sat; whence, too, he was named Cephas; *in which single chair unity was to be observed by all, so that the rest of the Apostles should not each maintain a chair to themselves; and that forthwith he should be a schismatic and a sinner, who against that singular chair set up another.*" † And again: "For the good of unity, blessed Peter both deserved to be preferred to all the Apostles, and *alone received the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, which should afterwards be communicated to the rest.*" ‡

St. Pacian, of Spain, to another Donatist, about the same time: "He spake to one, *that from one He might shape out unity.*" §

St. Ambrose is possessed with the same view. Speaking in the name of the Council of Aquileia, assembled from almost all the provinces of the West, to the Emperor Gratian, he says: "Your Clemency was to be entreated not to suffer the Roman Church, the head of the whole Roman world, and that sacred Faith of the Apostles, to be thrown into disturbance. *For thence, as from a fountain-head, the rights of venerable communion flow unto all.*" ‖

Meaning, I suppose, that no other particular Church has a right to demand communion with other Churches, unless itself communicate with the Roman Church.¶

Speaking of the passage, "Thou art Peter," he says:

* Ep. 27.
† St. Opt. Cont. Parm. lib. ii. c. 6.
‡ Ibid. lib. vii. c. 3.
§ St. Pacian, Third Letter to Sempronian, 26.
‖ Mansi, tom. iv. 622.
¶ See Ballerini, De Vi ac Ratione Primatus, c. 31.

"Because, therefore, Christ, by His own authority, *gave the kingdom*, could He not confirm this man's faith? whom when He calls the rock, He indicates the foundation of the Church?" * And again: "This is that Peter to whom He said: 'Thou art Peter,' etc. Therefore, *where Peter is, there is the Church*: where the Church is, there is no death, but eternal life." †

Peter and the Church are viewed as existing together; and the presence of Peter so living in his successors, indicates the Church: and is the foundation, not once, but for ever. As long as the building lasts, the foundation supports it.

At the same time, A.D. 386, Pope Siricius wrote to the Bishops of Africa: "Of Peter, through whom both the Apostolate and Episcopate in Christ took its beginning." ‡

In like manner, St. Jerome: "But you say the Church is founded upon Peter; although in another place this self-same thing takes place upon all the Apostles, and all receive the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, and the strength of the Church is consolidated equally upon them: nevertheless, for this reason *out of the twelve one is selected, that by the appointment of a Head the occasion of schism may be taken away*." §

If a head was necessary for Apostles, how much more for Bishops? So St. Jerome thought, when he cried from the patriarchate of Antioch to Pope Damasus: "I speak with the successor of the fisherman, and the disciple of the cross. I, who follow none as my chief but Christ, am associated in communion with thy Blessedness, that is, with the see of Peter. On that rock the Church is built, I know. Whoso shall eat the Lamb outside that house is profane. Whoso gathereth not with thee, scattereth: that is, he who is not of Christ is of Antichrist." ‖

And now we are brought to that great Saint who is among the Fathers what Paul is among the Apostles, and St. Thomas

* De Fide, lib. iv. 5. † In Psal. 40. ‡ Coustant. p. 651.
§ Agt. Jovinian, tom. ii. 279. ‖ To Damasus, Ep. 15.

among Doctors. Does he recognize St. Peter as the root of Church government, and as continuing on in his successors?

It would be quite enough to refer to his strong approval of those letters of Pope Innocent, given above, which set forth this idea so plainly. But he speaks in his own person: "I am held," he said to a Manichæan, "in the Catholic Church, by the consent of nations and of races: by authority, begun in miracles, nurtured in hope, attaining its growth in charity, established in antiquity. I am held by the succession of Bishops down to the present Episcopate from the very see of Peter the Apostle, to whom the Lord, after His resurrection, entrusted His sheep to be fed. Lastly, I am held by the very name of Catholic." *

Now the force of this third reason lay in the *universality*, and in the *continuance* of St. Peter's pastorship.

And to another Manichæan:

"Shall we then hesitate to hide ourselves in the bosom of that Church, which, even by the confession of the human race, *hath obtained possession of supreme authority from the Apostolic See*, by the succession of Bishops, while heretics in vain have been howling round her, and have been condemned partly by the judgment of the very people, partly by the weight of councils, partly also by the majesty of miracles?" †

But to the Donatists, who enjoyed, and that without the anxiety of a doubt, the Apostolical succession, with the full sacramental system of the Church, as well as her faith, save the point of their schism, he cries out: "You know what the Catholic Church is, and what that is *cut off from the vine*; if there are any among you cautious, let them come; let them find life *in the root*. Come, brethren, if you wish to be engrafted in the vine: a grief it is when we see you lying thus cut off. *Number the Bishops even from the very seat of Peter; and see every succession in that line of Fathers; that is, the Rock, which the proud gates of hell prevail not against.*" ‡

* Tom. viii. 153. † De Utilit. Cred. 17.

‡ Psalm. in Donatistas, tom. ix. 7.

Beyond a doubt, then, St. Augustine viewed Peter as continuing on in his successors. But what was his special office as Primate?

"He saith to Peter, *in whose single person He casts the mould of His Church*, 'Peter, lovest Thou Me?'" *

"In single Peter *the unity of all pastors was figured out.*" †

"For Peter himself, to whom He entrusted His sheep as to another self, *He willed to make one with Himself*, that so He might entrust His sheep to him: that He might be the Head, *the other bear the figure of the Body, that is, the Church.*" ‡

"Peter it was who answered, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' *One for many he gave the answer, being the oneness in the many.*

"That one Apostle, that is, Peter, first and chief in the order of Apostles, in whom the Church was figured." §

"Which Church the Apostle Peter in virtue of the Primacy of his Apostolate represented, *being the type of its universality.*" ‖

"It is said to him, 'I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven,' as if he alone had received the power of binding and loosing; the case really being that he singly said that in the name of all, *and received this together with all, as representing unity itself; therefore one in the name of all, because he is the unity in all.*" ¶

"The Lord Jesus chose out His disciples before His Passion, as ye know, whom He named Apostles. Amongst these *Peter alone almost everywhere was thought worthy to represent the whole Church. On account* of that very representing of the whole Church, which he alone bore, he was thought worthy to hear: 'I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven.' For these keys not one man but the unity of the Church received. *Here, therefore, the superiority of Peter is set forth, because he represented the very universality*

* Serm. cxxxvii. 3, tom. v. 664.
† Serm. cxlvii. c. 2, p. 702.
‡ Serm. xlvi. p. 240.
§ Serm. lxxvi. p. 415.
‖ Tom. iii. pars ii. 822.
¶ Tom. iii. pars ii. 800.

and unity of the Church, when it was said to him: I give to thee, what was given to all. Deservedly also, after His resurrection, the Lord delivered His sheep to Peter himself to feed; for he was not the only one among the disciples who was thought worthy to feed the Lord's sheep, but when Christ speaks to one, unity is commended; and to Peter above all, *because* Peter is the first among the Apostles." *

It would be hard to express the Papal idea more exactly than in these words: "Peter, who is the mould of the Church," "in whom the unity of all pastors is figured," who bears "the figure of the Body, that is, the Church," "the oneness in the many," "the type of universality and of unity," and as such "receiving the keys together with all."

But before leaving the African Church let us look forward to the year 646, when we find it in a body writing thus to Pope Theodore.

"To the most blessed Lord, raised to the height of the Apostolic throne, the holy Father of Fathers, and the Pontiff supreme over all prelates, Pope Theodore, Columbus, Bishop of the first See of the Council of Numidia, and Stephen, Bishop of the first See of the Byzacene Council, and Reparatus, Bishop of the first See of the Council of Mauritania, and all the Bishops of the three above-mentioned Councils of the province of Africa.

"No one can doubt that there is in the Apostolic See *a great unfailing fountain, pouring forth waters for all Christians, whence rich streams proceed, bountifully irrigating the whole Christian world.* To this, in honour of the most blessed Peter, the decrees of the Fathers have assigned all peculiar reverence, in inquiring into the things of God, which should everywhere be carefully examined, but specially by the apostolic head of the prelates himself, whose solicitude of old it is to condemn the evil and to approve the good. For by ancient rules it has been established, that whatever has been carried on," etc.; † and then they proceed to incorporate

* Serm. ccxcv. † Mansi, x. 919.

that very answer given, in 416, by Pope Innocent to the Council of Carthage, which I have cited above, which we have seen St. Augustine approving, and which sets forth the powers of the Apostolic See, as the living fountain of the Church.

Meanwhile let us glance at the view which the Greek Fathers have of the person and office of Peter.

Origen speaks "*of the sum of authority* being delivered to Peter as to feeding the sheep, and the Church being *founded upon him, as upon the Earth.*" *

Gregory of Nyssa: "*Through Peter* He gave to Bishops the key of celestial honours." †

His brother, St. Basil: "He that, through the superiority of his faith, received upon himself the building of the Church;" and, "Blessed Peter, selected before all the Apostles, alone receiving more testimonies and blessings than the rest, that was entrusted with the keys of the kingdom of Heaven." ‡

Gregory of Nazianzum: "Do you see, of Christ's disciples, all being lifted up high, and worthy of the election, one is called *the Rock, and is entrusted with the foundations of the Church.*" §

St. Chrysostom, out of many passages: "One entrusted by Christ with the flock,"—"himself put in charge of all,"—"Christ put into his hands the presidency of the Universal Church,"—"He put into the hands of a mortal man power over all things in heaven, when He gave him the keys."

Now, the great Eastern Councils, in the next generation to these Fathers, acknowledge the Pope as sitting in Peter's seat.

I have already quoted ‖ a remarkable letter of Pope Boniface, in the year 422, which fully sets forth the idea we are tracing; and another of St. Leo, but I add the following:—

"To our most beloved brethren, all the Bishops throughout the province of Vienne, Leo, Bishop of Rome.

* In Rom. lib. v. tom. iv. 568. † De Castigat. tom. ii. 746.
‡ Adv. Eunom. ii. tom. i. 240, and tom. ii. 221.
§ Orat. xxxii. tom. i. 591. ‖ See above, sect. 4.

"The Lord hath willed that the mystery of this gift (of announcing the Gospel) should belong to the office of all the Apostles, on *the condition of its being chiefly seated in the most blessed Peter*, first of all the Apostles: *and from him, as it were from the Head, it is his pleasure that His gifts should flow into the whole Body*, that *whoever dares to recede from the Rock of Peter may know that he has no part in the divine mystery. For him hath He assumed into the participation of His indivisible unity, and willed that he should be named what He Himself is*, saying: 'Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build My Church,' *that the rearing of the eternal temple by the wonderful gift of the grace of God might consist in the solidity of Peter, strengthening with this firmness His Church*, that neither the rashness of men might attempt it, nor the gates of hell prevail against it." *

The Empress Galla Placidia, about the same time, 450, writes to the Emperor Theodosius: "Let your Clemency give order that the truth of the faith of the Catholic religion be kept immaculate: that according to the form and definition of the Apostolic See, which we also equally venerate as of especial dignity, Flavian remaining in the rank of his priesthood wholly unharmed, judgment be issued by the Council of the Apostolic See, in which he first, who was worthy to receive the heavenly keys, ordered the chiefship of the Episcopate to be." †

This was to support the single authority of St. Leo against the regularly called Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, in 449.

In the year 490 Pope Felix III. writes to the Emperor Zeno, praising the newly elected Patriarch Flavita, for "*referring the commencement of his dignity* to the See of the blessed Apostle Peter," and speaks of his letter, in which he wished to be "supported by that power, *from which at the desire of Christ the full grace of all Pontiffs is derived.*" ‡

Pope Gelasius, in 492, speaks of the See of Peter, "*through*

* St. Leo, Ep. 10. † Ibid. Ep. 56. ‡ Mansi, vii. 1098.

which the dignity of all Bishops has ever been strengthened and confirmed, and for which, by the all-prevailing and peculiar judgment of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers, *its most ancient honour was maintained.* Inasmuch as they remembered the sentence of the Lord." He then quotes the three passages, and goes on: "Why, then, is the Lord's discourse so often directed to Peter? Were not then the other holy and blessed Apostles endued with similar virtue? Who would venture to assert this? But 'that by the appointment of a head the occasion of schism might be removed,' and that the Body of Christ might be shown to be of one compactness, meeting in one head by the most glorious bond of affection, and that the Church, which should be faithfully believed, might be one, and one the house of the one Lord and one Redeemer, in which we should be nourished of one Bread and one Cup. Wherefore, as I have said, our ancestors, those reverend masters of the Churches, being full of the charity of Christ, *sent to that See in which Peter the Apostle had sat the commencement of their Episcopate, asking from thence the strongest confirmation of their own solidity. In order that by this sight it may be evident to all that the Church of Christ is really in all respects one and indissoluble, which, wrought together by the bond of concord, and the wondrous contexture of charity, is shown to be that robe of Christ, single and undivided throughout, which not even the very soldiers who crucified the Lord dared to part."* *

In a fragment of a letter of the Pope Vigilius, in 538, we have:

"To no one well or ill informed is it doubtful, that the Roman Church is *the foundation and the mould* of the Churches, from which no one of right belief is ignorant that all Churches have derived their beginning. Since, though the election of all the Apostles was equal, yet a pre-eminence over the rest was granted to blessed Peter, whence he is also called Cephas, being the *head and beginning* of all the Apostles:

* Mansi, viii. 75.

and what hath gone before in the head, must follow in the members. Wherefore the holy Roman Church, through his merit consecrated by the Lord's voice, and established by the authority of the holy Fathers, holds the Primacy over all Churches, to which as well the highest concerns of Bishops, their causes, and complaints, as the greater questions of the Churches, are ever to be referred, as to the head. For he who knows himself to be set over others, should not object to one being placed over himself. For the Church itself, which is the first, has bestowed its authority on the rest of the Churches with this condition, that they be called to a part of its solicitude, not to the fulness of its power. Whence the causes of all Bishops who appeal to the Apostolic See, and the proceedings in all greater causes, are known to be reserved to that Holy See; especially as in all these its decision must always be awaited; and if any Bishop attempts to resist this course, let him know that he will give account to that Holy See, not without endangering his own rank." *

It is natural that the governing power should speak more fully of itself, but other Bishops express just the same idea. Thus St. Cæsarius, A.D. 502, Archbishop of Arles, addressing a series of questions to Pope Symmachus, speaks of the Roman See as the original fountain, and *therefore* the continual guardian of the Church's laws: "*As* from the person of the blessed Apostle Peter the Episcopate takes its beginning, *so* it is necessary that your Holiness should plainly show by competent rules to the different Churches what they are to observe." †

And John, Archbishop of Ravenna, speaks to St. Gregory of "that most holy See which *transmits its rights to the universal Church.*" ‡

And Stephen, Metropolitan of Larissa, in 531, petitions Pope Boniface for help, reminding him that "Peter, the Father and Doctor of your holy Church, and of the whole world, when the Lord said to him the third time: 'Lovest

* Mansi, ix. 33. † Ibid. viii. 211. ‡ St. Greg. Ep. lib. iii. 57.

thou Me? feed My sheep,' *first delivered to you his commission, and then, through you, bestowed it on all the holy Churches throughout the world.*" *

In this faith our own Bede was nurtured, who says: "For this blessed Peter, *in a special way*, received the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, and *the headship of judicial power*, that all believers throughout the world may understand, *that whosoever in any way separate themselves from the unity of his faith or of his society, such are not able to be absolved from the bonds of their sins, nor to enter the threshold of the heavenly kingdom.*" †

The great Archbishop Hincmar, the most vigorous defender of the rights of the Episcopate in the ninth century, says: "In that See the Lord, presiding as on His own throne, examines the acts of others, and dispenses all wonderfully as from His own seat." And again: "Catholic Bishops, we decree and judge all things according to the sacred canons and the decrees of the Pontiffs of the Apostolic See: the Apostolic See, and the Catholic Church, in our persons, who are created Bishops in the stead of Apostles, as in ordering co-orders, and in decreeing canonically decrees together, and in judging judges together with us. And we who execute the sacred canons and the decrees of the Pontiffs of the Roman See, under the judgment of the Apostolic Rock itself, in this nothing else but supporters of those who judge with justice, and executors of righteous judgments, pay obedience to the Holy Spirit, Who hath spoken through them, and to the Apostolic See, *from which the stream of religion, and of ecclesiastical orders and canonical judgment, has flowed forth.*" ‡

And in the same age, A.D. 847, writes "the Emperor Lothaire to our most holy spiritual Father, Leo, Supreme Pontiff, and Universal Pope." "The supernal disposition hath therefore willed the Apostolic See to hold the Primacy of the Churches, which See, through the most blessed Apostle Peter, in the whole world, on whichever side the

* Mansi, viii. 741. † Homily on St. Peter.
‡ Hincmar, quoted by Thomassin, Disc. de l'Eglise, part i. lib. i. c. 5.

Christian religion is diffused, is the head and foundation of sanctity, that in whatsoever causes, questions, or matters, the necessity of the Church might advise, all should recur *as to the standard of religion, and the fountain-head of equity.*" *

Lastly, Pope Gregory IV., in 830, writes to all Bishops: "We enjoin not anything new in our present orders, but confirm those things which seem of old allowed: as no one doubts, that not merely any pontifical question, but every matter of holy religion, ought to be referred to the Apostolic See, as the head of the Churches, *and thence to take its rule, whence it derived its beginning, that the head of the institution seem not to be left out, the sanction of whose authority all Bishops should hold, who desire not to be torn from the solidity of the Apostolic Rock, on which Christ has built the Universal Church.*" †

And here, before the termination of the ancient discipline, and the separation of the East, and before the introduction of the false decretals, I conclude this line of witnesses, adding only the testimony, four hundred years later, of the two great schoolmen, who in this assuredly, as in a multitude of other instances, have only set forth in their full light principles which had worked from the beginning in the Church. It is the same belief, implicit in St. Augustine, explicit in St. Thomas; faith but uses reason as her handmaid in the latter, to explain what she saw with direct vision in both.

"It is plain that the supreme power of government over the faithful belongs to the Episcopal dignity. But likewise,—

"1. That though populations are distinguished into different dioceses and cities, yet as there is one Church, so there must be one Christian people. As, therefore, in the spiritual population of one Church, one Bishop is required to be the Head of the population, so in the whole Christian people one is required to be Head of the whole Church.

"2. Also, for the unity of the Church it is required that all the faithful agree in faith. But concerning points of

* Mansi, xiv. 884. † Ibid. xiv. 517.

faith it happens that questions are raised. Now, the Church would be divided by a diversity of opinions, unless it were preserved in unity by the sentence of one. So then it is demanded for the preservation of the Church's unity that there be one to preside over the whole Church. Now, it is plain that Christ is not wanting in necessary things to the Church which He loved, and for which He shed His blood, since even of the synagogue it is said by the Lord, 'What more ought I to have done for My vineyard, which I have not done?' (Isaiah v. 4.) We cannot therefore doubt that one, by the ordering of Christ, presides over the whole Church.

"3. Further, no one can doubt that the regimen of the Church is best ordered, inasmuch as it is disposed by Him through Whom Kings reign, and Princes decree justice (Prov. viii. 15); now it is the best regimen of the multitude to be governed by one, which is plain from the end of government, namely, tranquility: for that, and the unity of the subjects, is the end of the ruler. Now one is a more congruent cause of unity than many. Thus it is plain that the regimen of the Church is so disposed that one presides over the whole.

"4. Moreover, the Church militant is drawn by likeness from the Church triumphant, whence John in the Apocalypse saw Jerusalem descending from Heaven, and Moses was told to make all things according to the pattern shown to him in the Mount. Now in the Church triumphant One presides, who presides also over the whole universe, that is, God: as it is said (Rev. xxi. 3): 'They shall be His people, and God Himself shall be with them, their God.' Therefore, also, in the Church militant there is one who presides over all. This is what is said in Hosea i. 11: "Then shall the children of Judah and the children of Israel be gathered together, and appoint themselves one head;' and the Lord says, in John x. 16: 'There shall be one fold, and one shepherd.'

"But should any one object that Christ is the One Head

and One Shepherd, Who is the One Bridegroom of the One Church, *it is not a sufficient answer.* For it is plain that Christ Himself performs the Church's Sacraments: for He it is Who baptizes, He Who remits sins, He is the true Priest Who offered Himself on the altar of the cross, and by Whose virtue His body is daily consecrated on the Altar: and yet, because He was not at present to be corporally with all the faithful, He hath chosen ministers by whom He dispenses the aforenamed to the faithful. Therefore, by the same reason, because He was about to withdraw from the Church His corporal presence, it was behoving that He should commit to some one the charge of the Universal Church in His place. Hence it is that He said to Peter, before His ascension: 'Feed My sheep:' and before His passion: 'Thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren:' and to him alone He promised: 'I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' *that the power of the keys might be pointed out as to be derived through him to others, for the preservation of the Church's unity.*

"But it cannot be said that, although He gave this dignity to Peter, yet it is not derived through him to others. For it is plain that Christ so set up His Church that it should last for ever, according to that of Isaiah ix. 7: 'He shall sit upon the throne of David, and upon His kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth for ever.' Plain, therefore, is it that He set up in their ministry those who then were, in such a way that their power should be derived unto their successors for the good of the Church unto the end of the world; especially as he says Himself: 'Lo, I am with you alway to the end of the world.'

"But by this is excluded the presumptuous error of certain persons, who endeavour to withdraw themselves from obedience and subjugation to Peter, by not recognizing his successor, the Roman Pontiff, as Pastor of the Universal Church." *

* St. Thomas, Summa contra Gentiles, iv. 76.

St. Bonaventure adds to this all that is needed: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator and Governor of all things, when he was about to ascend into Heaven, entrusted His Holy Church to His Apostles, for its government and diffusion, principally to the blessed Apostle Peter, to whom He said specially three times, concerning the universal flock of the faithful: 'Feed My sheep.' But that the Universal Church might be governed in a more ordered manner, the holy Apostles arranged it into Patriarchates, Primacies, Archbishoprics, Bishoprics" (he means the *thing*, not the *names*, for these are later), "Parishes, and other canonical distinctions: that, inasmuch as by one or by few the individual faithful could not be fitly provided with all things necessary to salvation, many might be called to a participation of this care, according to their several limitations, for the good of souls; and, in proportion to the extent of pastoral care, each one of them too received a certain power of authority, the fulness of ecclesiastical power dwelling in the Apostolic See of the Roman Church, in which the Apostle Peter, Prince of the Apostles, specially sat, and left there to his successors the same power.

"But *threefold* is the fulness of this power, viz., in that the Supreme Pontiff himself *alone* has the whole fulness of authority which Christ bestowed on His Church, and that he has it *everywhere* in all Churches as in his own special See of Rome, and that from him all authority *flows* unto all inferiors throughout the Universal Church, as it is competent for each to participate in it, as in heaven all the glory of the Saints flows from the very fountain of all good, Jesus Christ, though each share it in different degrees according to their capacity." *

The sum of all this is, what age after age is bringing out with more and more distinctness, that the visibility and unity of the Church depend on the Supreme Pontiff; those who reject him maintain neither One Body nor One Spirit.

* St. Bonaventure, Cur Fratres Minores prædicent. tom. vii. 366.

And it surely adds very greatly to the force of the preceding argument, that on the other side no intelligible view as to the origin and maintenance of mission and jurisdiction in the Church can even be presented to the mind. You search in vain for any antagonist system which will hold together, which will bear to be thought upon, and not run up into confusion and anarchy. What is this after all but saying, that a Body requires a Head, and a visible Body a visible Head?

IV. I now come to the fourth point, that the Papal Supremacy over the East was acknowledged by its own rulers and Councils before the separation.

This indeed is already fully involved in the first and second points, but I add a few more special proofs.

The first which I shall bring would seem to render all others needless. In the year 519 was terminated a schism of thirty-seven years, brought about by the wickedness of Acacius, formerly Patriarch of Constantinople, who, with the whole civil power of the Greek Emperor to back him, had communicated with heretics, interfered with the succession of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and caused unnumbered evils to the Eastern Church. By the advice of Acacius, the Emperor Zeno had put forth a decree, called the Henoticon, or preserver of peace, which made it an open question to hold or deny the faith of the Council of Chalcedon, and he forced the Bishops throughout his empire to sign this. The alleged purpose was to keep both parties, the Eutychean heretics and the Catholics, in the Church. Acacius, for his misdeeds, had been solemnly deposed and excommunicated by Pope Felix; but he was supported by the Emperor in possession of the See of Constantinople, and other Patriarchs succeeded him; and the whole East became severed from the West, save that great numbers in all parts adhered to the Roman communion in spite of persecution. At length, in the year 519, peace was restored on these terms:—That the Patriarch John, of Constantinople, and all the Bishops

subject to him, should sign a formulary, dictated by Pope Hormisdas, in which they professed obedience in all things to the See of Rome, acknowledged in it a primacy by gift of our Lord, which involved perpetual purity of faith and necessity of communion with that See, and anathematized by name their own Patriarch Acacius, and all who had followed him. I have given the form in the proceedings of the eighth Council, where it was used again. The Patriarch John sets forth the one chair of the Episcopate, saying: "I declare the See of the Apostle Peter, and that of the Imperial City (Constantinople), to be one See; promising for the future that those severed from the communion of the Catholic Church, that is, not agreeing in all things with the Apostolic See, shall not have their names recited at the sacred mysteries." *

Submission more complete can hardly be imagined.

In the year 536 the Emperor Justinian signed the same formulary, and presented it to Pope Agapetus, to clear himself from the imputation of favouring the heresy of Anthimus, Patriarch of Constantinople, whom that Pope had just deposed. He says in it: "Wherefore following in all things the Apostolic See, we set forth what has been ordained by it. And we profess that these things shall be kept without fail, and will order that all Bishops shall do according to the tenor of that formulary: the Patriarchs to Your Holiness, and the Metropolitans to the Patriarchs, and the rest to their own Metropolitans: that in all things our Holy Catholic Church *may have its proper solidity*." †

How could the Emperor Justinian express more plainly his belief that the Apostolic See was the rock of the Catholic faith, which indeed is said expressly at the beginning of the formulary?

About the year 650, Pope St. Martin exercises his power of universal jurisdiction by constituting John, Bishop of Philadelphia, his Vicar in the East, "that you may correct the things which are wanting, and appoint Bishops, Presbyters,

* Mansi, viii. 451. † Ibid. viii. 857.

and Deacons in every city of those which are subject to the See both of Jerusalem and of Antioch; we charging you to do this in every way, in virtue of the Apostolic authority which was given us by the Lord in the person of most holy Peter, Prince of the Apostles; on account of the necessities of our time, and the pressure of the nations." *

All that I have laid down under the third point is required to justify this exercise of authority.

Again, Pope Gelasius asks why Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople, "had not been diligent to give in accounts to the Apostolic See, from which he knew *that the care of those regions*" (the East in general) "*had been delegated to him.*" †

The following are cases of the confirmation of Eastern Patriarchs by the Roman See:—

Pope Celestine confirms Maximianus in the See of Constantinople, after the deposition of Nestorius, A.D. 432. He writes to him: "Take the helm of the ship well known to you, and direct it, as we know that you have learnt from your predecessors." ‡

The same Pope having written to the Bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, and Thessalonica, authorizing the translation of Bishops, provided it were for the general good, Proclus was transferred from Cyzicus to the Patriarchal Chair of Constantinople. §

Pope Simplicius (A.D. 482) in his letter to Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople, says that nothing was wanting to a new Patriarch of Alexandria, "*save that he might receive that establishment in his See which he desired by the assent of our Apostolic rule.*" ‖ And of the Patriarch of Antioch: "Having embraced, in the bosom of the Apostolic See, the Episcopate of our brother and fellow-bishop Calendion, we take into the number of our fellowship, through the grace of Christ our God, in the union of our order (*Collegii*), the Prelate of so great a city."

* Mansi, x. 806. † Ibid. viii. 61. ‡ Coustant. 1206.
§ Socrates, Hist. vii. 39, 40. Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, part ii. lib. ii. ch. 61. ‖ Mansi, vii. 991, 992.

Maximus, Patriarch of Antioch, had been irregularly appointed by Dioscorus, at the Robbers' Council of Ephesus, 449; but he is confirmed in his See by St. Leo, at the Council of Chalcedon. "Anatolius, Archbishop of Constantinople, spoke. We decree that nothing done in that called a Council shall hold good, except concerning most holy Maximus, Bishop of the great city of Antioch; since most holy Leo, Archbishop of Rome, by receiving him into communion, *hath judged that he should govern the Church at Antioch;* which prescription I, too, following, have approved, and all the present holy Council." *

The following refer to appeals :—

Pope Boniface I. (A.D. 422), writing to the Bishops of Thessaly, thus sets forth cases of subjection to his See, which had occurred in the preceding century :—

"The care of the Universal Church, laid upon him, attends the blessed Apostle Peter, by the Lord's decree; which indeed, by the witness of the Gospel, he knows to be founded on himself; nor can his honour ever be free from anxieties, *since it is certain that the supreme authority* (summam rerum) *depends on his deliberation.* Which things carry my mind even to the regions of the East, which by the force of our solicitude we in a manner behold. . . . As the occasion needs it, we must prove by instances that the greatest Eastern Churches, in important matters, which required greater discussion, have always consulted the Roman See, and, as often as need arose, asked its help. Athanasius and Peter, of holy memory, Bishops of the Church of Alexandria, asked the help of this See. When the Church of Antioch had been in trouble a long time, so that there was continual passing to and fro for this, first under Meletius, afterwards under Flavian, it is notorious that the Apostolic See was consulted. By whose authority, after many things done by our Church, every one knows that Flavian received the grace of communion, which he had gone without for ever, had not writings gone from hence respecting

* Mansi, vii. 258.

it. The Emperor Theodosius, of merciful memory, considering the ordination of Nectarius to want ratification, because it was not according to our rule" (on account of his being a layman), "sent an embassy of Councillors and Bishops, and solicited a letter of communion to be regularly despatched to him from the Roman See, *to confirm his Episcopate*. A short time since, that is, under my predecessor Innocent, of blessed memory, the Pontiffs of the Eastern Churches, grieving at their severance from the Communion of blessed Peter, asked by their Legates for reconciliation, as your charity remembers."*

This agrees with what the Greek historian Sozomen tells us, that "the Bishop of the Romans having inquired into the accusation against each" (St. Athanasius, Paul, Bishop of Constantinople, Marcellus of Ancyra, and Asclepas of Gaza), "when he found them all agreeing with the doctrine of the Nicene Synod, *admitted them to communion as agreeing with him. And inasmuch as the care of all belonged to him on account of the rank of his See, he restored to each his Church.*"†

Pope St. Gregory hears an appeal of an Abbot, John of Constantinople, from the Patriarch John, reverses his sentence, and compels him to receive the Abbot back.‡

About the year 500, the Bishops of the East, suffering under the schism of Acacius, address Pope Symmachus for relief, begging him to take them to his communion. They say that they supplicate him not on account of the loss of one sheep, having just quoted the parable of the Good Shepherd, but for almost three parts of the world. "But do thou, as an affectionate father among children, beholding us perishing by the prevarication of our Father Acacius, not delay: who art daily taught by the Sacred Doctor Peter to feed the sheep of Christ entrusted to thee throughout the whole habitable world, gathered together, not by force, but of their own accord."§

A few years later, on a like occasion, Pope Hormisdas

* Coustant. 1039.
† Hist. iii. c. viii.
‡ Ep. lib. vi. 24.
§ Mansi, viii. 221.

(A.D. 514) is addressed by about two hundred Archimandrites, Presbyters, and Deacons of Syria.

"To the most holy and blessed Patriarch of the whole Earth, Hormisdas, holding the See of Peter, Prince of the Apostles, the entreaty and supplication of the humble Archimandrites and other Monks of the province of Second Syria.

"Since Christ our God *has appointed you Chief Pastor, and Teacher, and Physician of souls,* we beseech you, therefore, most blessed Father, to arise, and justly *condole with the Body torn to pieces, for ye are the Head of all,* and avenge the Faith despised, the Canons trodden under foot, the Fathers blasphemed. The flock itself comes forward to recognize its own Shepherd in you, its true Pastor and Doctor, to whom the care of the sheep is entrusted for their salvation." *

The following are from a Metropolitan of Cyprus, and a Patriarch suffering under the Monothelites (A.D. 643):—

"To the most blessed Father of Fathers, Archbishop and Universal Patriarch, Theodore, Sergius, the humble Bishop, health in the Lord.

"Christ our God hath established thy Apostolic See, O Sacred Head, as a divinely-fixed immovable foundation, whereon the faith is brightly inscribed. For 'Thou art Peter,' as the Divine Word truly pronounced, and on thy foundation the pillars of the Church are fixed. Into thy hands He put the keys of the heavens, and pronounced that thou shouldest bind and loose in earth and heaven with power." †

The petition of Stephen, Bishop of Dora, first member of the Synod of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, read in the Lateran Council of Pope Martin (A.D. 649):—

"Who shall give us the wings of a dove, that we may fly and report this to your supreme See, which rules and is set over all, that the wound may be entirely healed? For this the great Peter, the Head of the Apostles, has been wont to do with power from of old, by his Apostolical or Canonical authority; since manifestly not only was he alone beside all

* Mansi, viii. 428. † Ibid. x. 498.

thought worthy to be entrusted with the keys of the kingdom of heaven, to open and to shut these, worthily to the believing, but justly to those unbelieving the Gospel of Grace. Not to say that he first was set in charge to feed the sheep of the whole Catholic Church; for He says: 'Peter, lovest thou Me? Feed My Sheep.' And again, in a manner special and peculiar to himself, having a stronger faith than all in our Lord, and unchangeable, to convert and confirm his spiritual partners and brethren, when tossed by doubt, having had power and sacerdotal authority providentially committed to him by the very God for our sakes Incarnate. Which knowing, Sophronius, of blessed memory, Patriarch of the holy city of Christ our God,—placed me on Holy Calvary,—and there bound me with indissoluble bonds, saying: 'Thou shalt give account to our God, Who on this sacred spot was willingly sacrificed in the flesh for us, at His glorious and dreadful appearing, when He shall judge the living and the dead, if thou delay and neglect His Faith endangered: though I, as thou knowest, cannot do this personally, for the inroad of the Saracens, which has burst on us for our sins. *Go then with all speed from one end of the earth to the other, till thou come to the Apostolic See, where the foundations of the true faith are laid.* Not once, not twice, but many times accurately make known to the holy men there what has been stirred up among us, and cease not earnestly entreating and requesting, till out of their Apostolic wisdom they bring judgment and victory.'" *

V. The relation of the Roman Bishop to Councils plainly indicates his rank.

Pope Celestine thus instructs the Legates whom he was sending to the Third General Council:—"When, by God's help, as we believe and hope, your charity shall have reached the appointed place, direct all your counsel to our brother and fellow-Bishop Cyril" (already deputed to be the Pope's Legate in this matter), "and do whatsoever shall be advised

* Mansi, x. 894.

by him; *and we charge you to take care that the authority of the Apostolic See be maintained.* If the instructions given to you tend to this, be present at the Council; if it comes to a discussion, *you are to judge of their sentences, not to enter into a contest.*" *

To the Council itself the Pope writes, as we have seen, that he doubts not they will agree to what he has ordered to be executed.

The Council replies to the Pope: "The zeal of your Holiness in the cause of piety, and your solicitude for the true faith, dear and pleasing to God our Saviour, are worthy of all admiration. For it is your wont, who are so great, to be well approved in all things, and to make the establishment of the Churches the object of your zeal." †

They tell him, further, that they had reserved the excommunication of the Patriarch John of Antioch to his judgment.

In like manner St. Leo writes to the Council of Chalcedon, not doubting that they would accept the letter in which he had defined the true faith.

Socrates and Sozomen give us the key to this language. The former speaks of the "Ecclesiastical Canon ordering that the Churches should not make Canons contrary to the sentence of the Bishop of Rome;" and the latter says, Pope Julius wrote to the Eusebian Bishops, "that it was an hierarchical law to declare null and void what was done against the sentence of the Bishop of the Romans." ‡

Thus we have seen Dioscorus condemned for holding a Council without Pope Leo. And in the Seventh Council (A.D. 787), a previous one of many hundred Bishops is declared not to be Universal, because it had not the presence of the Pope's Legates, "as the law of Councils requires."

From Constantinople St. Theodore Studites writes, about 800, to Pope Leo. III.:—"If they, arrogating to themselves authority, have not feared to assemble an heretical Council,

* Coustant. 1152. † Ibid. 1166, 1174.
‡ Socr. Hist. ii. 17; Soz. iii. 10.

who could not assemble even an orthodox one without your recognition of it (as the custom from ancient times holds good), how much more just, and even necessary, were it, that a lawful Council should be called by your divine Headship!" *

A little later, just before the Greek schism, Pope Nicholas I. wrote to the Emperor Michael:—"Observe that not the Nicene, not any Council whatever, granted any privilege whatever to the Roman Church, as knowing that in the person of Peter *it had fully received the right of all power, and the regimen of all Christ's sheep*,"—referring to a letter of Pope Boniface, four hundred years earlier, which had said the like.†

VI. But this point is closely connected with the next, the confirmation of Councils. And perhaps nothing shows more conclusively the imperium over all belonging to the See of St. Peter than this right.

St. Jerome tells us that at the latter part of the fourth century the Roman See was perpetually referred to for its judgment on difficult matters by Councils both of the East and West. "I was secretary to Damasus, Bishop of the Roman city, and answered the synodical consultations of the East and West." ‡

St. Innocent, a few years later, says that nothing was *terminated* without the consent of that See.

But the strongest exertion of this power is, giving that ratification to General Councils, without which they do not express the voice of the Church Catholic. And this power will be sufficiently proved, if some Councils which would otherwise have been general, were not so, simply from wanting this Papal ratification: and others, not of themselves general, became so, simply from having it.

Of the former class is the Council of Ariminum in 359, attended by more than four hundred Bishops, and whose formulary was signed by the Bishops of the East. Yet in the Council held by Pope Damasus at Rome ten years afterwards,

* Baronius, Ann. 809, No. 15. † Mansi, xv. 205. ‡ Ep. 123.

it was declared that the number of Bishops assembled there could not carry force, because the agreement of the Roman Bishop was wanting. And this has been always held since.*

Yet more remarkable is the case of the second Council of Ephesus, regularly called, attended by all the East, and by the Legates of St. Leo, but annulled by his subsequent opposition to it, and branded as the Robbers' Council.

Of the latter class, a Council held at Constantinople of one hundred and fifty Bishops of the East alone, which set forth the divinity of the Holy Spirit, became the second General Council solely by Pope Damasus accepting its decrees of faith.

A Council held by the influence of Justinian, against the wishes of Pope Vigilius, and bitterly opposed by all the West, became the fifth General Council, because it was subsequently confirmed by Vigilius.

And the influence of the Popes, it is well known, alone induced the West to receive the seventh General Council, where indeed the Papal Legates were the only Westerns who sat.

Again, observe that St. Leo *annuls* the second Council of Ephesus, but *excepts* the ordination of Maximus to Antioch; and *ratifies* the Council of Chalcedon, but *excepts* the exaltation of the see of Constantinople.

And the third General Council having left to Pope Celestine the decision as to the excommunication of the Patriarch John of Antioch, Xystus, his successor, writes to St. Cyril: "As to the Bishop of Antioch, and the rest, who with him wished to be partisans of Nestorius, and as to all who govern Churches contrary to the ecclesiastical discipline, *we have already determined this rule*, that if they become wiser, and with their leader reject everything which the holy Council has rejected *with our confirmation*, they are to return into their place as Bishops."†

* Synodal Letter, Mansi, iii. 458. † Coustant. 1238.

A Council at Rome, held in the year 485, writing to the Clergy of Constantinople, observes, with regard to the name of Pope Felix *alone* being appended to the decree deposing Acacius: "As often as the Priests of the Lord are assembled within Italy for ecclesiastical matters, especially of faith, the custom is retained that the successor of the Prelates of the Apostolic See, in the person of all the Bishops of the whole of Italy, according to the care over all Churches which belongs to him, should regulate all things, for he is the head of all: as the Lord says to blessed Peter, 'Thou art Peter,' etc. *Following which voice, the three hundred and eighteen Fathers assembled at Nicæa left the confirmation and ratification of matters to the holy Roman Church, both of which down to our time all successions by the help of Christ's grace maintain.*" *

If an assertion thus publicly made, by such an authority, in the absence of anything to contradict it, is not to be believed, very few facts of history are more worthy of credit.

Pope Gelasius, writing to the Bishops of Dardania in 495, observes: "We trust that no true Christian is ignorant that the appointment of every Council which the assent of the Universal Church has approved, ought to be executed by no other see but the first, *which both confirms every Council by its authority, and maintains them by its continued government, in virtue, that is, of its headship, which blessed Peter received indeed from the Lord's voice, but the Church, no less following that voice, hath ever held, and holds.*" †

Ferrandus, a well-known deacon of Carthage, writing in 533 to two deacons of the Church of Rome, says: "The divine precepts are only in the canonical books, and the decrees of the Fathers in General Councils, not to be refuted nor rejected, but maintained and embraced, according to that command of Holy Scripture: 'Hear, my son, the law of thy fathers, and despise not the advice of thy mother.' For the law of the father is conspicuous, as it seems to me, in the

* Mansi, vii. 1140. † Ibid. viii. 51.

canonical books: the advice of the mother is contained in Universal Councils. The Bishops, moreover, who meet there, subscribe their own statutes, that no doubt may be left by whom the discussion has been held: but, besides these, no further subscription is required: for it is held to be sufficient for full confirmation, if, brought to the knowledge of the whole Church, they cause no offence or scandal to the brethren, and are approved to agree with the Apostolic faith, *being confirmed by the consent of the Apostolic See.*" *

VII. And now every witness whom I have hitherto brought confirms likewise the remaining point,—the necessity of communion with the Pope. If his Primacy extends over the whole Church, as its controlling, regulating, maintaining, and uniting power, which supports its discipline, and gives voice to its faith; if this be by direct gift of our Lord, Who conferred upon Peter alone that whole Episcopate, of which others were to hold a part in communion with him and in dependence on him, and as long as this Episcopate endure, the original condition of its existence endures likewise; if, as having *that* whole and complete in himself of which others have a part, he is the living source and spring of mission and jurisdiction; if the Eastern Church acknowledged such a Primacy, when the imperial power was proudest in her, and when the See of Rome was politically no longer subject to that imperial power; if "the Churches may not make canons contrary to the sentence of the Bishop of Rome;" if his see "confirms every council by its authority, and maintains them by its continued government;"—how can he not be the centre of unity, so "that whoever dares recede from the Rock of Peter may know that he has no part in the divine mystery?" † Is it any wonder that every Saint is penetrated with this idea? that St. Ambrose cries: "Where Peter is, there is the Church;" St. Jerome: "Whoso gathereth not with thee scattereth;" St. Optatus: "He is a schismatic

* Gallandi, tom. xi. 363.

† Socrates, Pope Gelasius, and St. Leo, all in the fifth century.

and a sinner, who against that singular chair sets up another;" St. Augustine: "Come, brethren, live in the *root*, be grafted into the *vine*—this is the *Rock*, which the proud gates of hell prevail not against;" the whole Oriental Church together: "Those severed from the communion of the Catholic Church, that is, not agreeing in all things with the Apostolic See, shall not have their names recited at the sacred mysteries;" or, again: "We follow and obey the Apostolic See; those who communicate with it, we communicate with—those condemned by it, we condemn;" * or, that the Catholic Church of old, assembled in her most numerous General Council, confessed the Bishop of Rome to be the organ of the Holy Spirit dwelling in her: "Leo, most holy and blessed Archbishop of great and elder Rome, *by us and by this holy Council*, together with the most blessed Apostle Peter, who is the Rock and Ground of the Catholic Church, and the Foundation of the right faith." Heresy itself, by the voice of one sprung from our own island, in St. Augustine's time spontaneously expressed this. The Briton Pelagius laid his confession of faith before Pope Innocent I. in these words: "This is the faith, most blessed Pope, which we have learnt in the Catholic Church, and which we always have held, and hold. In which if anything perchance is laid down with somewhat of ignorance, or want of caution, we desire to be corrected by you, who hold both the faith and seat of Peter. But *if this our confession is approved by the judgment of your Apostleship*, then whosoever tries to cast a blot on me, will prove himself ignorant, or spiteful, *or even not a Catholic*, but will not prove me a heretic." †

An early Father, Bishop and Martyr in Gaul, but a Greek by birth, and only two steps removed from St. John, has given us the reason of all this: "With this Church (the Roman), *on account of its superiority of headship, it is necessary* that every Church should agree, that is, the faithful on every

* Mennas, Patriarch of Constantinople, at his Council, held in 536.

† St. Aug. tom. x. App. 97.

side, in which the tradition from the Apostles has ever been preserved by those who are on every side." *

May we not, then, sum up the whole belief of the Church concerning that living power which her Lord has put at her centre, in the words of one who has been called the last of the Fathers, who, at least in his day, was loved and honoured by all who themselves were worthy of love and honour? Thus speaks St. Bernard to that monk who had been his own spiritual child, but was become his father, as holding the see of Peter; and in him speaks a countless multitude of Holy Doctors, Saints, and Martyrs, who have had no other home, hope, or comfort, but in the Church of God, who but carried on what they had inherited, a perpetual living tradition. Thus he interprets St. Augustine: "This is the Rock against which the proud gates of Hell prevail not."

"Come, let us inquire yet more diligently who you are; that is, what person you, for a time, sustain in the Church of God. Who are you? a great Priest, the Supreme Pontiff. You are chief of the Bishops, heir of the Apostles, in primacy Abel, in government Noah, in patriarchate Abraham, in order Melchisedec, in dignity Aaron, in authority Moses, in judgment Samuel, in power Peter, in unction Christ. You are he to whom the keys are delivered, to whom the sheep are entrusted. Others, indeed, there are who keep the door of heaven, and are shepherds of flocks, but you have inherited both names above the rest, as in a more glorious, so in a different way. They have each their several flocks assigned to them, while to you singly all are entrusted as one flock. And not only of the sheep, but of all the shepherds you are the only Shepherd. Ask you whence I prove this? By the word of the Lord. For to whom I say, not of Bishops, but even of Apostles, were all the sheep entrusted so absolutely, and without distinction? 'Peter, if thou lovest Me, feed My sheep.' Which sheep? the people of this or that city, or region, or specified empire? My sheep, he saith. To whom

* St. Irenæus, lib. iii. 3.

is it not plain that He did not designate some, but assign all? nothing is excepted, where nothing is distinguished. And perhaps the rest of his fellow-disciples were present, when, by committing them to one, He commended unity to all in one flock, and one shepherd, according to that 'My dove, My beautiful, My perfect is but one.' Where is unity, there is perfection. The other numbers have not perfection, but division, in receding from unity. Hence it is that others received each their own people, knowing the sacrament. Finally, James, who seemed to be a pillar of the Church, was contented with Jerusalem alone, yielding up to Peter the whole. But well was he there placed to raise up seed to his dead Brother, when that Brother was slain. For he was called the Brother of the Lord. Moreover, when the brother of the Lord gives way, what other would intrude himself on the prerogative of Peter?

"Therefore, according to your canons, others have been called to a part of your solicitude, but you to the fulness of power. The power of others is conferred within certain limits; yours is extended even over those who have received power over others. Can you not, if fitting cause exist, shut heaven to a Bishop, depose him from the Episcopate, even deliver him to Satan? Therefore does your privilege stand to you unshaken, as well in the keys which are given you, as in the sheep which are entrusted to you. Hear another thing which no less confirms to you your prerogative. The disciples were in the ship, and the Lord appeared on the shore, and, what was cause of greater delight, in His risen Body. Peter, knowing that it is the Lord, casts himself into the sea, and thus came to Him while the rest arrived in the ship. What meaneth that? It is a sign of the one only Priesthood of Peter, by which he received not one ship only, as the rest each their own, but the world itself for his government. For the sea is the world, the ships Churches. Thence it is, that, on another occasion, walking like the Lord on the waters, he marked himself out as the single Vicar of Christ, who should

rule over not one people, but all; since the 'many waters' are 'many peoples.' Thus, while every one of the rest has his own ship, to thee the one most great ship is entrusted; the Universal Church herself, made out of all Churches, diffused through the whole world." *

* St. Bernard, de Consid. lib. ii. c. 8.

Section VI.—St. Peter's Primacy, and the Royal Supremacy.

And now, what do we, as English Christians, owe to the Chair of St. Peter? *We owe it everything.*

If it is "the root and womb of the Catholic Church" in general, how much more to us in particular?

When Augustine, the Monk, came into England with his band of Missionaries, did he come of himself, or was he *sent?* Who gave him *mission?* Who gave him *spiritual jurisdiction?* Who empowered him to be Primate over England, and to create other Bishops? A power is wanted for all this. Whence did he get it?

Not from the Kentish king, for he was not yet gathered into the fold of Christ himself; how could he *send?*

And had he been a sheep of the fold, how could he give mission to a shepherd?

Nor, again, was he monarch of England! How could he assign all England for a spiritual province?

Augustine derived his mission from St. Peter's Chair.

Augustine derived his power to create other Bishops, and to assign them dioceses, from St. Peter's Chair.

Augustine derived authority over them, when so created, from St. Peter's Chair.

Augustine's successors retained the authority which he had held by commission from St. Peter's Chair.

That English Church arose, parcelling out the island, and irrigating every plot of it with the life-giving water of the Gospel.

The fountain-head was in St. Peter's Chair.

As a living member, it made part of a living Body, and as that Body was ruled and maintained by a head, so was the member.

The head was St. Peter, living also in his successors.

What part had the civil power in all this?

It *allowed* the spiritual power to act; it added to its actions civil authority and privileges; it confirmed, by the sanction of temporal laws, those assignations of spiritual subjects which the spiritual power had made.

But it never *made* these by and of itself; it never claimed to *send* labourers into the vineyard of the Lord.

It preserved and maintained the civil jurisdiction in these mixed causes when it came into contact with the spiritual; but it never claimed to *originate* this spiritual jurisdiction itself, or to be *supreme judge*, or *judge* at all, in matters of faith.*

Augustine, the Bishop, had one domain; Ethelbert, the King, had another. He was Augustine's *spiritual child*, and *temporal lord*.

For more than nine hundred years this relationship continued, and as it is founded in first principles of the Christian Faith, the only marvel is, that it can be needful to set it forth, as if it were doubted by any.

But at least the whole ancient Church of England was built on it.

Leaving his days of prayer and peace, St. Augustine went forth from that monastery on the Roman hill, visited and loved by how many English pilgrims, for how many hundred years! He was sent, as yet a priest only, with mission from the Prince of the Apostles, that when the shadow of Peter passed over them, the slaves might become sons, and the Angli Angeli.

These were the words of St. Gregory: "To Augustine your ruler, whom we make your Abbot, be in all things humbly obedient, knowing that whatever you fulfil by his admonition will in all things profit your souls. The Almighty God protect you with His grace, and grant me to see the

* See this learnedly proved in the late pamphlet of Archdeacon, now Cardinal, Manning, The Appellate Jurisdiction of the Crown, etc.

fruit of your labour *in the eternal country*. Since if I cannot labour with you, I may be found with you in the joy of your reward, for I wish to labour with you. God preserve you safe, most beloved sons." *

At the command of St. Gregory, Augustine afterwards receives consecration as Bishop from Virgilius the Primate of Arles. And this alone would prove how completely distinct is the question of jurisdiction from that of order. Virgilius had no authority whatever to *send* Augustine into England, but at the command of his spiritual superior he could confer upon him those powers which spring from consecration, for the *exercise* of which St. Gregory alone gave him *mission*. To this Bishop Virgilius St. Gregory had before granted "the pall;" that is, authority to represent himself over all the Bishops of Gaul. "Because," he says, "it is plain to all *whence* the Holy Faith came forth, in the regions of Gaul; when your Brotherhood asks afresh for the ancient custom of the Apostolic See, what does it, but as a good child, recur to the bosom of its mother?" "And so we grant your Brotherhood to represent ourself in the Churches which are in the kingdom of our most excellent son Childebert, according to ancient custom, which has God for its author." †

And so the same power which gave the Bishop of Arles authority over all the Bishops of France, committed England and its future Bishops to Augustine.

Thus, in another letter, St. Gregory empowers Augustine to constitute two provinces, his own, and that of York, each with its Bishops; and he adds to him personally, "Let your Fraternity have all the Bishops of Britain subject to you, by authority of our Lord God." ‡

In answer to a question of St. Augustine, he says, in another place: "We give you no authority over the Bishops of Gaul; but we commit to your Fraternity the care of all British Bishops." §

* St. Greg. Ep. vi. 51. Ibid. lib. xi. 65.

† Ibid. lib. v. 53.

§ Ibid. lib. xi. 64.

Thus the Anglican hierarchy sprung up under St. Gregory's hand: her Primacies were instituted by him, and maintained by him. Every successor of St. Augustine received afresh from every successor of Gregory the continuance of the original mission and jurisdiction.

Thus Boniface V. writes to Justus, the fourth Archbishop, A.D. 622: "Moreover we send to your Fraternity the pall, *granting also to you to celebrate the ordination of Bishops*, when need requires." *

Pope Honorius sends, at the request of King Edwin, palls to the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York, with permission that when one dies the survivor should consecrate another. "He may fill up his place with another Bishop *by this our authority*, which, as well out of regard to your affection, as on account of the great space between us, *we are induced to concede*." †

The same Pope writes to the Archbishop Honorius, A.D. 626: "You ask that the authority of your see should be confirmed by the privilege of our authority. Therefore, according to the old custom which your Church has kept from the times of Augustine, your predecessor, of holy memory, by the authority of blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, we grant to you, Honorius, and to your successors for ever, the Primacy of all the Churches of Britain. Therefore we have ordered all the Churches and regions of England *to be subjected to your jurisdiction*, and in the City of Canterbury let the Metropolitical place and honour of the Archiepiscopate, and the head of all the Churches of the English people, be kept for the future." ‡ And he prays that God would confirm with perpetual stability the Archbishop, "following the rule of your *Master* and *Head*, St. Gregory."

So in the year 657, Pope Vitalian writes to our Archbishop Theodore: "We learn your desire for the *confirmation* of the diocese subject to you, because in all things you desire

* Mansi, tom. x. 550. † Ibid. x. 580. ‡ Ibid. x. 580, 583.

to shine by our privilege of Apostolical authority. Wherefore we have thought good at present *to commend to your most wise Holiness all the Churches in the island of Britain.* But now, by the authority of blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, to whom power was given by our Lord to bind and to loose in heaven and in earth, we, however unworthy, holding the place of that same blessed Peter, who bears the keys of the kingdom of heaven, grant to you, Theodore, and your successors, all that from old time was allowed, for ever to retain unimpaired, in that your Metropolitical See, in the City of Canterbury." *

Yet these powers might be withdrawn or changed by him who gave them; for we find, in the year 795, Kenulph, King of Mercia, writing to solicit Pope Leo III. to restore to Canterbury that part of its province which his predecessor Hadrian, at the request of King Offa, had erected into an Archiepiscopal province for Lichfield. And this prayer is granted by the Pope. At the same time all the Bishops of England petition the Pope that the favour of one Archbishop consecrating the successor of the other, which had been interrupted by the troubles of the times, might be restored; and that the pall might be granted without going to Rome for it.†

At a Council held at Rome in 680, Pope Agatho had ordered that each Archbishop in England "who for the time is honoured with the pall by this Apostolic See,"‡ may promote and ordain the Bishops subject to him. In the same Council, Winifred is restored to the see of York.

In the year 1072, a contest arose by reason of Thomas, Archbishop of York, denying the Primacy of Canterbury over his see. A Council was held in Winton, by order of Pope Alexander, to terminate this, and Archbishop Lanfranc communicates to the Pope the results, that clear proof of his Primacy over all England had been adduced. "As the greatest strength and foundation of the whole cause," he says, "there were produced the grants and writings of your pre-

* Mansi, tom. xi. 24. † Ibid. xiii. 960, 989. ‡ Ibid. xi. 180–183.

decessors, Gregory, Boniface, Honorius, Vitalian, Sergius, Gregory, and the last Leo, which from time to time, from various causes, were given or transmitted to the Prelates of the Church of Canterbury, and the Kings of England."*

As the Archbishop's Primacy extended over all England, and comprehended the ordaining of Bishops and celebrating of Councils, to prove that it was granted to him and maintained by the authority of the Pope, is to prove that mission and jurisdiction to govern the whole Church of England proceeded perpetually from St. Peter's Chair.

Thus, whoever might nominate and whoever might elect Bishops, the power which constituted a particular person to govern a particular diocese was derived mediately or immediately from the see of Peter: that is, this see was the perpetual fountain-head of mission and spiritual Jurisdiction. The Primacies which it had created, it likewise maintained; and that which was originally a communication of St. Peter's authority (for from him alone it comes that one Bishop is superior to another), would subsist throughout by union with St. Peter.

He who is the source of spiritual Jurisdiction is necessarily the Supreme Judge of doctrine.

But that which the see of Peter was, ages before the very foundation of the see of Canterbury, *in the whole Church*, it seems hardly necessary to prove, that it was always *in a province of the Church*. Could any province of the Church determine a point concerning the faith by and of itself, the least evil to which that must lead would be the dismemberment of that province from the rest of the Body. For what can insure unity of faith without submission to a common head? This even our Lord did not attempt, even in a body of twelve. How can there possibly exist "one Episcopate, of which a part is held by each without division of the whole," unless there be one law for that whole Episcopate, maintained by one authority within it: as the very Saint who sets forth this

* Mansi, xx. 23.

idea of the Episcopate observes, "Unity is preserved in the source"?

But, as a matter of fact, for more than nine hundred years the see of St. Peter was in this nation the Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge, and matters of faith could be carried before it, as the court of appeal in last resource.

And, as a matter of fact, for nine hundred and sixty years sixty-nine Archbishops sat in the seat of St. Augustine at Canterbury, by the authority of him who sent St. Augustine.

But by whose authority did the seventieth sit? who gave to Dr. Parker, not his orders, not his Episcopal character, but *mission*, to execute the powers which belong to that character in the determinate see of Canterbury, and *authority* to execute the powers of a Primate in the province of Canterbury?

To this no answer can be given but one—Queen Elizabeth gave, or at least attempted to give, that mission and that authority.

Let us simply state historical facts.

Queen Elizabeth, at her accession, found the ancient relation, which for nine hundred and sixty years had subsisted between the see of St. Peter and the Church of England, restored by the act of her sister, after its disturbance by her father and brother. This relation consisted mainly in two points—that the Pope instituted all Bishops, and was the Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge.

Queen Elizabeth caused an Act of Parliament to be passed, depriving the Pope of these two powers. And this Act was passed in spite of the remonstrances of the Episcopate, the Convocation, and the two Universities.

But she did not stop there. Who was to possess these two powers? Somewhere they must be. She coveted them for her Crown: she took and annexed them to that Crown.

She made herself supreme Ecclesiastical Judge by causing the appeals, which had ever been made from the Court of the Archbishop to the Pope, to be made to the Crown. More

need not be said on this head, as all the Courts of the kingdom have just affirmed this power to exist in the Crown; and as Her Majesty, in exercise of her authority as Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge, has just reversed the sentence of the Archbishop's Court, and decreed, that the Clergy of the Church have it wholly at their option to preach and teach that infants are regenerated by God in Holy Baptism, or that such a doctrine is "a soul-destroying heresy:" nay, as the perfection of liberty, the same Clergyman can now at the font, in the words of the Baptismal Service, declare his belief in the former doctrine, and in the pulpit proceed to enforce the latter!

She took to herself, likewise, the power of *instituting* Bishops, which is of originating mission and jurisdiction; for every Bishop of the Anglican Church has been from that time instituted by order and commission from the Crown, and by that alone. Now it has been well said, that "Sovereigns who covet spiritual authority have never dared to seize it upon the altar with their own hands: they know well that in this there is an absurdity even greater than the sacrilege. Incapable as they are of being *directly* recognized as the source and regulators of religion, they seek to make themselves its masters by the intermediacy of some sacerdotal body enslaved to their wishes: and there, Pontiffs without mission, usurpers of the truth itself, they dole out to their people the measure of it which they think sufficient to check revolt; they make of the Blood of Jesus Christ an instrument of moral servitude and of political schemes, until the day when they are taught by terrible catastrophes, that the greatest crime which sovereignty can commit against itself and against society, is the meddling touch which profanes religion." *

Dr. Parker was instituted by four Bishops without a diocese, who had no power whatever of their own to give mission to the see of Canterbury; they professed to act under Queen Elizabeth's Commission.

* Le Père Lacordaire.

But to show how the fountain of this mission and spiritual jurisdiction was made to reside in the Crown, we need only refer to the law which enacted, that in case an Archbishop should refuse within a certain time to institute a Bishop at the command of the Crown, *a case which in three hundred years has never occurred*, though Dr. Hoadley and Dr. Hampden have been among the persons instituted, the Crown might issue a commission to any other Bishops of the province to institute, thus overruling the special authority of the Archbishop, as Archbishop.

Moreover, the letters patent of every Colonial Bishop declare in the most express words that Episcopal jurisdiction to govern such and such a diocese, which the letters patent erect, is granted by the Crown.

And not only does the Crown *grant* this jurisdiction, but it can *recall* it after it has been once granted.

Take the latest exercise of this power.*

"The Queen has been pleased by letters patent under the great seal of the United Kingdom, to *reconstitute* the Bishopric of Quebec, and to direct that the same shall comprise the district of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Gaspe *only*, and be called the Bishopric of Quebec: and Her Majesty has been pleased to name and appoint the Right Rev. Father in God, George Jehoshaphat Mountain, Doctor of Divinity, *heretofore Bishop of Montreal, to be Bishop of the said See of Quebec.* Her Majesty has also been pleased to constitute so much of the ancient diocese of Quebec as comprises the district of Montreal, to be a Bishop's See and Diocese, to be called the Bishopric of Montreal, and to name and appoint the Rev. Francis Fulford, Doctor of Divinity, to be ordained and consecrated Bishop of the said See of Montreal."

All that the Archbishop has to do in such a matter is to give Episcopal consecration to a person so designated, on pain of having his goods confiscated, and his person imprisoned: *but he does not give the diocese or the mission.*

* London Gazette.

Her Majesty likewise—in the exercise of Papal authority—has created sundry Metropolitans, as of Calcutta, to whom she has subjected all India; and Sydney, to whom she has subjected not only Australia, but Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand.

Now here let me observe two things.

First, that the power to nominate for election, or to elect one to be a Bishop, is quite distinct from the power to institute or confirm, which latter *is the deliverance of the spiritual power of government.* The former privileges may be and are exercised by the civil power; but the latter authority must be derived from a spiritual source.

Secondly, the civil power may, if it so choose, give the sanction of civil law to the assignations of dioceses made by the spiritual power; and attach a certain *civil* validity to the spiritual acts of Bishops instituted by spiritual power. But here the case is quite different. The diocese is made and erected, divided and altered, solely by the civil power. The spiritual jurisdiction actually possessed by a Bishop over his flock is taken away, as concerns a part of that flock, and conferred upon another. The Bishop is purely passive under this.

And so particular Bishops, already supposed to be under the see of Canterbury, are without permission of that see subjected to an intermediate Metropolitan.

Now the whole principle of the Anglican Reformation consists in these two things,—that the civil power is made the origin of Mission and Spiritual Jurisdiction, and the Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge. Those who ask for these things to be altered ask that the Reformation would be pleased to undo all that it did amiss, and so restore itself to Catholic Unity. Would that they may be heard, but there are few signs of it!

And the whole of what I have written in the preceding five sections shows that the Papal authority consists in exactly these two points. And thus it was that Queen Elizabeth took and transferred the Papal Supremacy to herself. And thus it is that authority to administer the Sacraments of our

Lord Jesus Christ in this or that place or district, the keys of the kingdom of heaven, the power to bind and loose, are pretended to be given by an earthly Sovereign. Can there be found in the history of eighteen hundred years a heresy more directly anti-Christian than this? It strikes at the very heart of the Church of God.

From the beginning the crime of being a creature and a slave of the State has been alleged against the Anglican Establishment. Is this charge true? and if so, in what does it consist?

It is not because a communion is *established*, because its Bishops are *nominated* by the Crown and sit in Parliament; because their acts have a civil validity; because its Clergy are civil officers; that it can be justly called a creature or a slave of a State. All this may be innocently, may be rightly, may be most happily. But a communion is the creature and the slave of the civil power when the origin of its mission and spiritual jurisdiction, and the supreme judgment upon its doctrine, are vested in the civil power.

But to return to Queen Elizabeth. Armed with this civil law, which extinguished the supreme jurisdiction of St. Peter's See, and its institutions of Bishops, and transferred both these powers to the Crown, imposing an oath for their maintenance, she ordered this oath to be administered to the existing Bishops. The Primacy was vacant, and sixteen members of the Episcopate alone survived. Of these, *fifteen* refused to sever that link between their sees and the see of Rome, which had subsisted for nine hundred and sixty years, from the very foundation of the Church, refused beside to acknowledge the transference of the two above-named spiritual powers to the Crown. In virtue of that law they were deposed.

One Bishop, Kitchen of Llandaff, had the heart to accept these conditions, and continued on in his see, surrendering to courtiers the greater part of its endowments. But even he took no part in the confirmation or consecration of the new Primate.

And so the ancient Episcopate, which derived its succession from St. Augustine, and its mission from St. Peter, became extinct in banishment, in captivity, and in duresse. The Episcopate which for well-nigh a thousand years had formed, and civilized, and blessed England in a thousand ways, and by which it was a member of the great Christian Body, was swept away.

And a new Episcopate, deriving its mission from Queen Elizabeth, and perpetually dependent for its jurisdiction on the Crown of England, and owning in that Crown its Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge, arose. This is its origin, this the principle, on which it is built, the subjection of the spiritual power to the civil in spiritual things, in faith, and in discipline. *Humanam conati sunt facere Ecclesiam.* They attempted, and they have succeeded. For myself, now that, after long years of pain and distress, of thought, of inquiry, and of prayer, by the mercy of God the light has broken upon me, let me say as much as this,—for not to say it would be to conceal the strongest conviction, neither formed in a hurry, nor reached without great suffering,—let those who can put their trust in such a Church and such an Episcopate, those who can feel their souls safe in such a system, work in it, think for it, write for it, pray for it, and *trust their souls to it.* But the duty which I owe to Almighty God, and the regard which I have for my salvation, compel me to declare my belief, by word and act, that it is an *imposture,* all the more dangerous to the souls of men, to the affectionate, to the obedient, to those who believe that there is "one Body and one Spirit," because it pretends to be a member of the Catholic Body with which it has broken the essential relation, and to possess spiritual powers which it has indeed forfeited.

Section VII.—The Effects of St. Peter's Primacy, and of the Royal Supremacy.

The Primacy which our Lord set up for ever in His Church in the person of St. Peter and his successors was so set up to maintain unity of faith and of communion.

That Primacy was finally abolished in the Anglican Establishment by Queen Elizabeth, and two of the chief powers belonging to it attached to her throne, powers which cannot be separated;—that is, to be the Source of Spiritual Jurisdiction, and the Supreme Judge of doctrine. Have the two effects intended by the Primacy of divine institution—unity of faith and of communion—followed in the system set up under the Royal Supremacy of human institution?

Has the Anglican Church one faith? Has she communion with the Church Catholic throughout the world?

As to faith, the revelation of our Lord has been of late well divided into three great branches, which indeed are sufficiently indicated by the arrangement of the Apostles' Creed, viz., the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; the doctrine of the Incarnation; the doctrine of the Church.

It was this latter which was assaulted at the time the Anglican Reformation was set up; and of course to this latter we must mainly look to see the unity of the New Church. Has the Anglican communion any one consistent faith concerning the Catholic Church, and the sacramental system, which is in fact the applying of the Incarnation to the mystical Body of Christ, and the souls which belong to it? Who will venture to say that it has, *as a whole?* I speak not of this or that party, Evangelical, Latitudinarian, or High Church, or the Oxford movement, within it; but does the Anglican Church, *as a whole*, deliver to men any belief as to

where the Catholic Church at this moment is; whether the Roman is part of it or not; whether the Greek is part of it or not; whether Presbyterianism in Scotland is a branch of it or not; whether it is infallible or not; whether, if General Councils may err, the whole Church may err, and teach falsehood for God's truth. Each individual in the Anglican Church will have his own answer, or none, upon these questions. Yet all repeat: "I believe one Holy Catholic Church." How can they believe what they do not know anything about?

Or again, as to the benefits of Holy Baptism; are not the two great sections of the Establishment at daggers drawn about these—full of misconceptions even as to their own meaning?

Or only conceive that a late trial had turned upon the nature of the Holy Eucharist, instead of Baptism. The mind revolts at the thought of the blasphemies which would have been uttered, and the unbelief in that holy mystery which would have been shown.

Now, not to mention the effects conveyed by Confirmation, and Orders, and Sacramental Absolution, there is not a rural deanery in England whose members could meet together without all or either of the above questions being an apple of discord, if flung among them.

But there is one point which runs right into the heart of him who is charged with the care of souls, and day by day leaves its sting there. The Anglican Church abolished at the Reformation that discipline of penance which existed all over the world. What has she substituted for it? Are her children to sin and sin on, for months and years together, and *restore themselves* when they please to the communion of the Church? sin on, to the very bed of death, in trust upon God's indulgence? Or what living bond of connection is there between the pastor and his flock *in health?* How can he ever come to close quarters with the secret sins of the individual conscience? How to deal with sins committed after baptism

is a question of the utmost daily moment to the clergy. How is it ruled for them in Anglicanism?

They have each to teach souls the way to heaven; to teach young children, as well as to remind adults, of the privileges and duties of baptized persons; and how to be restored if they sin. They have all to attend death-beds, and sinners laden with guilt: are they to hear their confessions, or tell them to confess to God alone? to give them absolution, or to instruct them that God alone forgives sins, and *not* by His ministers?

These several parties will answer these questions in different ways. In the mean time the sinner dies!

Do Anglican Bishops authorize auricular confession, or no? or, if they are asked the question, put it off with an ambiguity? *

Is the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession taught or not, by the Anglican Church, or is it "an open question"? A Bishop lately denied it in strong terms, preaching on a solemn public occasion at St. Paul's Cathedral, I think before the great Missionary power of the Church; the consequence was, that he was not asked to print his sermon.

Yet one would think this doctrine of some importance to the being of a Church.

Is it not universally felt that the Prayer-Book looks one way, and the Articles another? The remains of the Catholic spirit in the former consort ill with the flagrant virus of the Reformation in the latter. It is a great contest which is to interpret the other: but the Privy Council seems to have turned the scale in favour of the Articles.

Thus it appears that the whole body of doctrine which was attacked at the Reformation remains in the Anglican system in a state of uttermost confusion. All that it has of good is that which it derived unaltered from the Roman Church: where it attempted to change, it set up nobody knows what, but something so indefinite, so ambiguous, so

* These are facts which have come to the writer's knowledge.

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chameleon-like, in a word, so *dishonest*, that Evangelical and Anglo-Catholic claim it each from themselves. That is, a compromise was made of the whole sacramental system: and a royal decree now comes forth that the clergy may teach contradictories about it.

And is this indeed God's truth?—did our Lord set up a Church for this, that men might be tossed about with every wind of doctrine? But I go no further in a subject on which one might write a volume. I only wish to show the necessary result of a fatal principle.

And as to unity of communion with the rest of the Church, what has the Royal Supremacy done?—not merely severed it, as a fact, but made it *impossible*.

Other communions are unhappily schismatical, as being *de facto* disjoined from the Head: but they are not built upon, and do not consecrate, the schismatical principle. Greeks or Armenians might once more accept St. Peter's Primacy to-morrow. The very Monophysites have the hierarchical principle in perfection, and still look up to St. Mark's Chair, even in its degradation, as the centre of unity; and they may one day remember that St. Mark was sent by St. Peter. But Anglicanism is founded on the very principle of denying St. Peter's Primacy, a principle of isolation and severance, which terminates the unity of the Church with each individual Bishop, or rather makes all alike subject, as Bishops, to the civil power. Were this carried out, there would be as many Christianities as there are Christian nations. But enough of divisions which sadden the inmost heart, and lead it to the conclusion that there is no Church upon earth; for this every *consistent* Anglican must believe.

Is he not told that the Roman Church, the Greek Church, and the Anglican, which neither teach one creed, nor are united in one government, make up yet one Church; that is, spiritual bodies, which excommunicate each other, make up that "one Body and one Spirit" which has "one Lord and one Faith"? When the individual conscience asks: What

am I to believe *as a matter of divine faith*, on points where these authorities disagree, what answer can be given? Accordingly, the result, to every thinking mind, of Anglicanism is, that there is at present no divine teacher upon earth at all, whom we are bound to believe and obey. That is *naked infidelity*. Let me entreat those to consider this, who seem to have made up their minds to substitute what they call "loyalty" to the Anglican Church *for maintenance of the Catholic Faith*, in whose name they once said great things.

Now turn to the other side.

Has the *Divine* Primacy effected the purpose for which it was instituted? Has it maintained unity of faith and of communion?

As to faith, go where you will, and within the bosom of that communion which is built on the rock of St. Peter's Chair you will find no variance of belief on that threefold cord of doctrine mentioned above. Neither Clergy nor Laity differ as to the doctrine of the Most Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Church, *nor as to all the consequences derived from them*. The Parish Priest pursues his daily task in no doubt as to the instruction of the young, the recovery of the wandering, the consolation of the dying. Councils of Bishops meet in all directions, and send the result of their consultations and prayers to the common Shepherd of all, without contest, without variation of belief, from one end of the earth to the other. The Host comes forth in procession, and every heart is lifted up to the Author of Salvation, every head bowed in worship; one solemn feeling of the Real Presence fills a great church, and inspires its congregation. Moreover, Saints live and grow on it; societies of men and women are inspired by it unto all the labours of self-denying charity.

Take as symbols within the one communion the bare table and the deserted shrine; but comfort, respectability, order, the powers of the world that is.

Within the other, a people hushed in adoration, a cloud of

incense, and the Present God; but poverty, continence, religious communities, the powers of the world to come.

Within the one, among the Clergy itself, disputes, divisions, indifferences, disbelief of all dogma.

Within the other, a system, acknowledged by all the faithful, encompassing and supporting them from the cradle to the grave.

And as to communion, throughout all regions of the world, how far more justly now than when St. Augustine wrote, may the Catholic say: "I am held in the Catholic Church by the consent of nations and of races, by authority begun in miracles, nurtured in hope, attaining its growth in charity, established in antiquity: I am held by the succession of Bishops down to the present Episcopate from the very See of Peter the Apostle, to whom the Lord, after His resurrection, entrusted His sheep to be fed. Lastly, I am held by the very name of Catholic, which, not without reason, among so many heresies, that Church alone has to such a degree taken possession of, that, though all heretics wish to be called Catholics, yet, if any stranger ask: Where is the Catholic Church? no heretic will dare to show you his own church!"

Would not this seem to be a prophecy uttered fourteen hundred years ago? and yet as true is what follows:—"Those therefore so many and so great most dear bonds of the Christian name with reason hold a believer in the Catholic Church, even if, through the slowness of our natural ability or the demerit of our life, the truth should not as yet have shown itself most fully revealed. But amongst *you*, where there is none of these things to invite and hold me, *the promise of the truth* alone makes a great noise; and indeed if this be so plain that it cannot be doubted, it is to be preferred to all those things by which I am held in the Catholic Church; *but if it is only promised and not shown*, no one shall move me from that faith which binds my spirit by folds so many and so strong to the Christian religion."

And now I have given the *Scriptural* authority for St. Peter's Primacy, carried on in his successors;

Where is the *Scriptural* authority for the Primacy of Queen Victoria?

I have given the *Patristic* authority, and that of Councils, for St. Peter's Primacy;

What Fathers and what Councils acknowledge a temporal supremacy of the State over the faith and discipline of the Church?

Let them be produced; let us compare the one with the other.

Is there *little* in Holy Scripture for St. Peter's Primacy? *How much* is there for the Apostolate and Episcopate itself? But the words of God are few, only they create and they maintain. Set the weight of the world on those words which He addressed to Peter, and they will bear it.

But for the Royal Supremacy you have *nothing* to bring from Scripture; not one word, unless you like, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

And as for tradition, King Henry and Queen Elizabeth set themselves against the current of fifteen hundred years; they tore up what had been the root of their own Church for well-nigh a thousand. They severed themselves from St. Peter's See, and they sowed throughout their realm divisions never ending,—spiritual severance, isolation, and indifference; they destroyed that religious unity which, of all others, is the most precious inheritance of a land. This they were allowed to do, and yet at this moment more Bishops, and well-nigh as many people, subject to St. Peter, own their temporal sovereignty, as compose that communion which acknowledges their spiritual supremacy, which is itself rent to pieces, and has the denial even of the doctrine of Baptism imposed on it by that Supremacy! It was a fearful vision of schism and of heresy which the poet saw:—

"A rundlet that hath lost
Its middle or side stave, gapes not so wide

> As one I marked, torn from the chin throughout
> Down to the hinder passage, 'twixt the legs
> Dangling his entrails hung, the midriff lay
> Open to view, and wretched ventricle." *

Am I to believe that this hideous phantom is the teacher sent to me by Almighty God? Is this the dispenser of His Sacraments? the pillar and ground of the truth?

Whither, then, shall I turn, but to thee, O Glorious Roman Church, to whom God has given, in its fulness, the double gift of ruling and of teaching? Thine alone are the keys of Peter, and the sharp sword of Paul. On thee alone, with their blood, have they poured out their whole doctrine. Too late have I found thee, who shouldst have fostered my childhood, and set thy gentle and awful seal on my youth; who shouldst have brought me up in the serene regions of truth, apart from doubt, and the long agony of uncertain years. Yet before I understood thee, I could admire; before I acknowledged thy claims, I could see that undaunted spirit which would resign everything save the inheritance of Christ; that superhuman wisdom, by the gift of which, while "Earthly states have had single conquerors or legislators, a Charlemagne here, a Philip Auguste there; in Rome alone the spiritual ruler has dwelt for ages, smiting the waters of the flood again and again with the mantle of Elijah, and making himself a path through them on the dry land." † But now I see that the God of Elijah is with thee. O too long sought, and too late found, yet be it given me to pass under thy protection the short remains of this troubled life, to wander no more from the fold, but to find the Chair of the Chief Shepherd to be indeed "the shadow of a Great Rock in a weary land!"

* Dante, Hell, Canto xxviii.

† Church of England cleared from Schism, p. 394.

III.

LETTER TO DR. PUSEY.

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Dear Dr. Pusey,—In a book lately published by you, entitled "The Truth and Office of the English Church," you do me the honour to make frequent citations from a work of mine, published when I was a clergyman of the Church of England; and in a note at page 237 you remark, "In quoting this book (Allies' 'Church of England Cleared from Schism') I would say that his second work, after that, in despair of the English Church on the Gorham judgment, he left the Church of England, is no real answer to this, which he wrote not as a partisan, but as the fruit of investigations, as to whose issue he was indifferent." Here are statements, both of fact and of opinion, which it seems to me challenge a reply, and which I do not feel inclined to pass over without one.

And first, there is an error of fact, on which a statement of opinion is grounded. Not the first book only, but both the works in question, "The Church of England Cleared from Schism," and "The See of St. Peter the Rock of the Church, the Source of Jurisdiction, and the Centre of Unity," were written and published by me as a clergyman of the Church of England. The preface of the second closes with the words, "My last act as an Anglican, and my last *duty* to Anglicanism, is to set forth, as I do in the following pamphlet, what has induced me to leave it." The conclusions to which I came, as the result of five years' study and prayer, in the second book,

were so powerful as to force me to give up my living, to leave the communion in which I had been born and bred, and in which all my hopes of prosperity in this world lay, to become a layman in the Catholic Church, and in middle years to begin life anew. This work you describe as the work of a partisan. Of the former work, the result of two years and a half of study and prayer, the immediate effect of which was that I felt myself enabled to continue where I was in the Church of England, you say that it was "the fruit of investigations, as to whose issue he was indifferent." I should like you to explain what ground you have for saying that in the one case I wrote a book, which was "the fruit of investigations, to whose issue I was indifferent," when the result was that by means of those investigations I was enabled to retain what to most men is not indifferent, their position in the religious communion in which they are born and bred, their profession, and a competent rank and provision in support of it; while in the other case I wrote a book "as a partisan," the immediate result of which was that all these advantages had to be sacrificed? Did you simply mean that when I seemed to defend the Church of England, this was "the fruit of investigations to which I was indifferent," but that when, after double the time, labour, thought, and prayer, I felt I could defend her no longer, I wrote "as a partisan"? To write as a partisan is, I suppose, to write not as one who regards truth before all things, but something else more precious than the truth. What ground have you for saying that this something acted upon me in the second case and not in the first? I venture to think and to assert that I wrote both the first and second book with equal honesty; I wrote neither as a partisan, but for the satisfaction of my own conscience. The first, which you term "the fruit of investigations, to whose issue I was indifferent," carried with it no sacrifice; the second, which you term the work "of a partisan," carried with it a great one: but both were the fruit of investigations, not to which I was indifferent, for that in both cases was

impossible, but in which I was determined that no consequences to myself should prevent me from setting forth what I believed to be the truth.

Having said so much on the personal question, with regard to your statement that I wrote the second book "as a partisan," I now turn to the more important point, which, however, you seem to ground on this statement of yours, namely, that my second book is no real answer to the first. Now, you make this assertion to those who are probably unacquainted with both books, one of which was published so long ago as, the first edition in 1846, the second in 1848, and the other in 1850. It is requisite, therefore, that I should give a short analysis of the argument in both cases; and this, I think, will make it clear whether or no the second book is an answer to the first.

The book, then, called "The Church of England Cleared from the Charge of Schism by the Decrees of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, and the Traditions of the Fathers," consists of two parts: one, the exhibition of the Roman Primacy; the other, a defence of the Church of England. I will take each in its order:—

1. I began by saying, "The writer of the following pages is more and more convinced that the whole question between the Roman Church and ourselves, as well as the Eastern Church, turns upon the Papal Supremacy, as at present claimed, being of Divine right or not. *If it be*, then have we nothing else to do, on peril of salvation, but submit ourselves to the authority of Rome; and better were it to do so before we meet the attack, which is close at hand, of an enemy who bears equal hatred to ourselves and to Rome; the predicted 'lawless one,' the Logos, reason, or private judgment of apostate humanity rising up against the Divine Logos, incarnate in His Church."

Having thus laid down that the question whether the Roman Primacy be of divine right or not, is the hinge upon which all turns, I say in p. 19, when speaking of the Primacy,

as shown at the Council of Nicæa: "This precedence or prerogative of Rome, to whatever extent it reached, was certainly, notwithstanding the famous 28th canon of Chalcedon, not either claimed or granted, especially in the West, merely because Rome was the imperial city. It was explicitly claimed by the Bishop of Rome himself, and as freely conceded by others to him, as in a special sense successor of St. Peter. From the earliest times that the Church comes before us as an organized body, the germ at least of this pre-eminence is observable. From the very first the Roman Pontiff seems possessed himself, as from a living tradition which had thoroughly penetrated the local Roman Church, with a consciousness of some peculiar influence he was to exercise on the whole Church. This consciousness does not show itself here and there in the line of Roman Pontiffs, but one and all, whatever their individual characters might be, seem to have imbibed it from the atmosphere which they breathed. St. Victor and St. Stephen, St. Innocent, St. Leo the Great, and St. Gregory are quite of one mind here. That they were the successors of St. Peter, who himself sat and ruled and spoke in their person, was as strongly felt, and as consistently declared, by those Pontiffs who preceded the time of Constantine, and who had continually to pay with their blood the price of that high pre-eminence, as by those who followed the conversion of the empire, when the honour of their post was not accompanied by so much danger. I am speaking now, be it remembered, of the feeling *which possessed them*. The feeling of their brother Bishops concerning them may have been less definite, as was natural; but, at least, even those who most opposed any arbitrary stretch of authority on their part, as St. Cyprian, fully admitted that they sat in the see of Peter, and ordinarily treated them with the greatest deference. This is written so very legibly upon the records of antiquity, that I am persuaded any one, who is even very slightly acquainted with them, cannot with sincerity dispute it."

Going on rather more than a hundred years, I come to St. Leo the Great, and of him I say, p. 248, that his "long and able Pontificate will afford us the best means of judging what the legitimate power of the Roman See was, and how it tended to the preservation and unity of the whole Church. He lived at an important crisis, when the barbarous tribes of the North were about to burst over the Empire and the Church; the system of which, had it not been consolidated by himself, his immediate predecessors and successors, might have been dissolved and broken up into fragments. I will first show, by a few quotations, that St. Leo had no slight sense of his own duty and dignity among his brother Bishops. We will then see how his actions, and the way in which they were received by others, supported his words."

I then quote the following from a sermon of his on the anniversary of his consecration:—"Although, then, beloved, our partaking in that gift be a great subject for common joy, yet it were a better and more excellent cause of rejoicing, if ye rest not in the consideration of our humility: more profitable and more worthy by far it is to raise the mind's eye unto the contemplation of the most blessed Apostle Peter's glory, and to celebrate this day chiefly in the honour of him, who was watered with streams so copious from the very Fountain of all graces, that while nothing has passed to others without his participation, yet he received many special privileges of his own. The Word made flesh already dwelt in us, and Christ had given up Himself whole to restore the race of man. Wisdom had left nothing unordered; power left nothing difficult. Elements were obeying, spirits ministering, angels serving; it was impossible that Mystery could fail of its effect, in which the Unity and the Trinity of the Godhead itself was at once working. *And yet out of the whole world Peter alone is chosen to preside over the calling of all the Gentiles, and over all the Apostles, and the collected Fathers of the Church: so that though there be among the people of God many priests and many shepherds, yet Peter rules all by personal commission, whom*

Christ also rules by sovereign power. Beloved, it is a great and wonderful participation of His own power which the divine condescendence gave to this man: and if He willed that other rulers should enjoy aught together with him, yet never did He give, save through him, what He denied not to others. In fine, the Lord asks all the Apostles what men think of Him; and they answer in common so long as they set forth the doubtfulness of human ignorance. But when what the disciples think is required, he who is first in Apostolic dignity is first also in confession of the Lord. And when he had said, 'Thou art Christ, the son of the living God,' Jesus answered him, 'Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona, because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but My Father, which is in Heaven:' that is, Thou art blessed, because My Father hath taught thee; nor opinion which is of the earth deceived thee, but heavenly inspiration instructed thee; and not flesh and blood hath shown Me to thee, but He, whose only-begotten Son I am. And I, saith He, say unto thee, that is, as My Father hath manifested to thee My Godhead, so I, too, make known to thee thine own pre-eminence. For thou art Peter; that is, whilst I am the immutable Rock, I, the corner-stone, who make both one, I, the foundation beside which no one can lay another; *yet thou also art a rock, because by My virtue thou art established, so that whatever is Mine by sovereign power is to thee by participation common with Me.* And upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: on this strength, saith He, I will build an eternal temple, and My Church, which in its height shall reach the heaven, shall rise upon the firmness of this faith. This confession the gates of hell shall not restrain, nor the chains of death fetter; for that voice is the voice of life. And as it raises those who confess it unto heavenly places, so it plunges those who deny it into hell. Wherefore it is said to most blessed Peter, 'I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on

earth shall be loosed in heaven.' The privilege of this power did indeed pass to the other Apostles, and the order of this decree reached to all the rulers of the Church, but not without purpose what is intended for all is put into the hands of one. For therefore is this entrusted to Peter singly, because all the rulers of the Church are invested with the figure of Peter. The privilege, therefore, of Peter remaineth, wheresoever judgment is passed according to his equity. Nor can severity or indulgence be excessive, where nothing is bound, nothing loosed, save what blessed Peter either bindeth or looseth. But at the approach of His passion, which would disturb the firmness of His disciples, the Lord saith, 'Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat; but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not, and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren, that ye enter not into temptation.' The danger from the temptation of fear was common to all the Apostles, and they equally needed the help of divine protection, since the devil desired to dismay, to make a wreck of all: and yet the Lord takes care of Peter in particular, and asks specially for the faith of Peter, as if the state of the rest would be more certain, if the mind of their Chief were not overcome. *So then in Peter the strength of all is protected, and the help of divine grace is so ordered, that the stability, which through Christ is given to Peter, through Peter is conveyed to the Apostles.*

"Since, therefore, beloved, we see such a protection divinely granted to us, reasonably and justly do we rejoice in the merits and dignity of our Chief, rendering thanks to the Eternal King, our Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ, for having given so great a power to him whom He made chief of the whole Church, that if anything, even in our time, by us be rightly done and rightly ordered, it is to be ascribed to his working, to his guidance, unto whom it was said, 'And thou, when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren:' and to whom the Lord, after His resurrection, in answer to the triple profession of eternal love, thrice said with mystical

intent, 'Feed My sheep.' And this, beyond a doubt, the pious shepherd does even now, and fulfils the charge of his Lord; strengthening us with his exhortations, and not ceasing to pray for us, that we may be overcome with no temptation. But if, as we must believe, he everywhere discharges this affectionate guardianship to all the people of God, how much more will he condescend to grant his help unto us his children, among whom, on the sacred couch of his blessed repose, he resteth in the same flesh in which he ruled. To him, therefore, let us ascribe this anniversary day of us his servant, and this festival, by whose advocacy we have been thought worthy to share his seat itself, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ helping us in all things, Who liveth and reigneth with God the Father and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever."

These being the *words* of St. Leo the Great, as to his own office, I give, in p. 252, the following summary of his actions:—"A Pontiff so deeply and religiously impressed with the prerogative of St. Peter's successor was likely to be energetic in discharging his duties. In truth, we behold St. Leo set on a watch-tower, and directing his gaze over the whole Church: over his own West more especially, but over the East too, if need be. He can judge Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, as well as Eugubium, and is as ready too. Wherever Canons are broken, ancient customs disregarded, encroachments attempted, where Bishops are neglectful, or Metropolitans tyrannical, where heresy is imputed to Patriarchs, in short, wherever a stone in the whole sacred building is being loosened, or threatens to fall, there is he at hand to repair and restore, to warn, to protect, and to punish."

In p. 275, I say, "The question then at issue is, whether the Bishop of Rome be the first of the Patriarchs, and the first Bishop of the whole world, the head of the Apostolic college, and holding among them the place which Peter held, all which I freely acknowledge as the testimony of antiquity." At p. 270 I had already said, "I am fully prepared to admit

that the Primacy of the Roman See, even among the Patriarchs, was a real thing; not a mere title of honour."

On reading over now St. Leo's statement of his own Primacy, as quoted from my book above, I cannot forbear remarking that Count de Maistre would be quite satisfied so to express the office and prerogatives of the Holy Father, and I feel that our present Holy Father would desire no better exponent of the rights and powers of the Apostolic See than his great predecessor gives in the passage quoted.

But how did his own contemporaries receive it? Did they protest that he was assuming a power never given to his see? Did they declare that in terming himself the special successor of St. Peter, who lived and reigned in his see, he was introducing a new and unknown idea? In pp. 298–302, I gave the synodical letter of the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon to this same Pope. Be it remembered that it was a Council composed of all the great prelates of the East, the Roman legates, who presided in the name of the Pope, being the only Westerns present; that it is one of the four Councils which the Anglican Church still professes to receive as Ecumenical; that therefore, if there be any occasion in all the eighteen centuries on which the whole Church, *according to Anglican principles*, may be said to have spoken, it is by the voice of this Council. I quote then again from my book what this Council said spontaneously to Pope St. Leo, on the very subjects on which, above, we have seen him speaking himself.

First, p. 298, they call the Pope specially the successor of St. Peter, and, as such, the maintainer of the deposit of doctrine descending from Christ and their leader (ἀρχηγὸς) unto good. "Our mouth was filled with laughter and our tongue with joy: grace has fitted this prophecy to us, by whom the restoration of piety has been accomplished. For what can be higher matter of concern for joy than the Faith? or motive for brighter pleasure than the knowledge of the Lord, which the Saviour Himself delivered unto us from above

for our salvation, when He said, 'Go ye, and make disciples all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.' This knowledge descending to us like a golden chain from the command of Him who established it, thou hast kept throughout, *being set forth to all men as the interpreter of the voice of the blessed Peter, and drawing upon all the blessing of his faith. Whence we also, enjoying the advantage of thee as our leader unto good*, have exhibited the inheritance of the truth to the children of the Church, not teaching each by himself in a corner, but making known the confession of the Faith with one Spirit, with one accord and agreement."

Speaking of themselves as assembled in Ecumenical Council, they say the Pope presided over them, as the Head over the members: "For if, where two or three are gathered together in His name, there He said He would be in the midst of them, how intimately showed He Himself to five hundred and twenty Priests, who preferred the declaration of their confession in Him before both their country and their toil? *Amongst whom thou as a head over the members didst preside*, in the persons of those who held thy place, showing thy good-will."

They speak of the Pope as the one to whom the guardianship of His vine was entrusted by the Saviour; saying of Dioscorus, the deposed Archbishop of Alexander, that he, "besides all this, *turned his madness even against the very one entrusted by the Saviour with the guardianship of the vine, thy Holiness we mean.*" They term themselves the Holy Father's children: "We have judged well-timed the confirmation of this honour to it" (the rank of the Second See to the Church of Constantinople), "by the Ecumenical Council, and have ratified it with confidence, as if it had been begun by thy Holiness, who art ever ready to cherish them: *being aware that every success of the children is reckoned to the parents who own them.*" (I should have translated, who make it, the success, their

own). "We therefore entreat that you would honour our decision with your suffrage likewise: *as we have introduced agreement with the head* (τῇ κεφαλῇ) *in good things, so let your Highness* (ἡ κορυφὴ τοῖς παισὶν) *fulfil to your children what is fitting.*" Lastly, they leave to him the confirmation of their acts: "*We have left the whole force of the acts to you, that you may approve of us, confirming and assenting to what we have done.*"

After giving this letter in full, I say (p. 302): "He who rejects the Primacy of the Pope, with this letter of the Council of Chalcedon before him, must be prepared to give up the witness of antiquity, and to reject the authority of the Catholic Church."

In p. 491, summing up the whole seven centuries, I say: "History, then, teaches us that, as a fact, the Primacy of Rome has always existed; and reverence would suggest that what has always been admitted by the Church of Christ, His Bride, was intended and foreordered by Him, with whose voice she speaks." In p. 313, I had said, "The Primacy, being itself of divine institution, might yet have greater or smaller privileges attached to it by the Canons of Councils or tacit consent of Bishops." And again, in p. 315, "In truth, it by no means follows that because the Primacy is of divine institution, therefore all the privileges which are claimed under cover of the Primacy are likewise of divine institution."

Here then is a summary of the contents of my book, which you say that I wrote, "not as a partisan, but as the fruit of investigations, as to whose issue I was indifferent," on the main subject upon which it treats, the Roman Primacy. I began by stating that all turned upon the point whether it was of divine institution or not, and I came to the conclusion, that it is of divine institution, so borne witness to by antiquity, and the authority of the Church, especially as assembled at the fourth Ecumenical Council, which may be said to sum up and embody the history of the preceding four hundred years, and to interpret and harmonize the whole

evolution of the Papacy in that time, and thus to corroborate its exercise by St. Leo, that (p. 302) "he who rejects the Primacy of the Pope, with this letter of the Council of Chalcedon before him, must be prepared to give up the witness of antiquity, and to reject the authority of the Catholic Church," to which I add, in p. 491, that he who believes in the Church as the Bride of Christ must believe that what has always been admitted by her, was intended and foreordered by Him, with whose voice she speaks.

What then was the defence of the Church of England which, in the midst of such statements concerning the Roman Primacy, I set up. It is thus stated in p. 366: "That during this period (the first six centuries) the Bishop of Rome was recognized to be first Bishop of the whole Church, of very great influence, successor of St. Peter, and standing in the same relation to his brethren the Bishops that St. Peter stood in to his brother Apostles; this, on the whole, I believe to be the testimony of the first six centuries, such as a person not wilfully blind, and who was not content to take the witness of a Father when it suited his purpose and pass it by when it did not, would draw from ecclesiastical documents. I have set it forth to the best of my ability, as well where it seemed to tell against the present position of the Church of England, as in those many points in which it supports her.

"What then is our defence on her part against the charge of schism? It is simply this. That no one can now be in the Communion of Rome without admitting this very thing which Pope Gregory declares to be blasphemous and anti-Christian, and derogatory to the honour of every Priest. This is the very head and front of our offending, that we refuse to allow that the Pope is Universal Bishop. If the charge were that we refuse to stand in the same relation to the Pope that St. Augustine of Canterbury stood in to this very St. Gregory, that we refuse to regard and honour the successor of St. Gregory with the same honour with which our Archbishops, as soon as they were seated in the government of their Church, and were

no longer merely Missionaries but Primates, regarded the occupant of St. Peter's See, I think both the separation three hundred years ago, and the present continuance of it on our part, would, so far as this question of schism is concerned, be utterly indefensible. But this is *not* the point. It may indeed be, and frequently is, so stated by unfair opponents. The real point is, that, during the nine hundred years which elapsed between 596 and 1534, the power of the Pope, and his relation to the Bishops in his Communion, had essentially altered: had been, in fact, placed upon another basis. That from being first Bishop of the Church, and Patriarch, originally of the ten Provinces under the Vicar of the Præfectus Prætorio of Italy, then of France, Spain, Africa, and the West generally, he had claimed to be the source and channel of grace to all Bishops, the fountain-head of jurisdiction to the whole world, East as well as West: in fact, the 'Solus Sacerdos,' the 'Universus Episcopus,' contemplated by St. Gregory. There is a world-wide difference between the ancient signature of the Popes, 'Episcopus, Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Urbis Romæ,' and that of Pope Pius at the Council of Trent, 'Ego Pius Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus.' It has been no longer left in the choice of any to accept his *Primacy*, without accepting his *Monarchy*, which those who profess to follow antiquity must believe that the Bishops of Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon, Augustine and Chrysostom, the West and the East, would have rejected with the horror shown by St. Gregory at the first dawning of such an idea. And, whereas Holy Scripture and antiquity present us with one accordant view of the Universal Church governed by St. Peter and the Apostolic College, and, during the times of the seven Ecumenical Councils at least, as the Bishop of Rome is seen to exercise the Primacy of St. Peter, so his brother Bishops stand to him as the College of Apostles stood to St. Peter; instead of this, which is the Church's divine hierarchy, instituted by Christ Himself, the actual Roman Church is governed by one Bishop who has an Apostolical

independent power, whilst all the rest, who should be his brethren, are merely his delegates, receiving from his hand the investiture of such privileges as they still retain. If St. Gregory did not mean this by the terms 'Solus Sacerdos,' 'Universus Episcopus,' what did he mean? That the Pope should be the only Priest who offered sacrifice, or the only Bishop who ordained, confirmed, etc., is physically impossible. Nor did the title of the Bishops of Constantinople tend to this: but to claim to themselves jurisdiction over the co-ordinate Patriarchs of the East, as the Popes have since done over the Bishops of the whole world. We have no need to consider what is the amount of this difficulty to Roman Catholics themselves: the same Providence which has placed them under that obedience, has placed us outside of it. Our cause, indeed, cannot be different now from what it was at the commencement of the separation. If inherently indefensible then, it is so now. But if then 'severe but just,' the lapse of three centuries in our separate state may materially affect our relative duties. I affirm my conviction, that it is better to endure almost any degree of usurpation, provided only it be not antichristian, than to make a schism; for the state of schism is a frustration of the purposes of the Lord's Incarnation; and through this, not only the English, and the Eastern Church, but the Roman also, lies fettered and powerless before the might of the world, and bleeding internally at every pore. How shall a divided Church meet and overcome the philosophical unbelief of these last times? or, the one condition to which victory is attached being broken, crush the deadliest attack of the old enemy? But the schism is made; let those answer for it before Christ's tribunal who made it. Now that it is made, I see not how a system, which is not a true development of the ancient Patriarchal constitution, but its antagonist, according to St. Gregory's words, can be forced upon us, on pain of our salvation, who have the original succession of the ancient Bishops of this realm, if any such there be, and the old Patriarchal constitution, *sua tantum si*

bona norint. I ground our present position simply on the appeal to tradition and the decrees of all the Ecumenical Councils."

Again, at p. 446: "If it be true that the Pope is monarch of the Church, which is the present Papal theory, the Church of England is in schism. If it be not true, she is at least clear of that fatal mark. All that is required for her position is the maintenance of that Nicene Constitution, which we have heard St. Leo solemnly declare was to last to the end of the world, viz., that every Province of the Church be governed by its own Bishops under its own Metropolitan. And who then but will desire that the successor of St. Peter should hold St. Peter's place? Will the Patriarch of Constantinople, or the Archbishop of Moscow, or the Primate of Canterbury, so much as think of assuming it? Be this our answer when we are accused of not really holding that article of the Creed, 'one Catholic and Apostolic Church.' Let the Bishop of Rome require of us that honour and power which he possessed at the Synod of Chalcedon, *that, and not a totally different one under the same name,* and we shall be in schism when we do not yield it. At present we have no farther separated from him than to fall back on the constitution of the Church of the Martyrs and the Fathers."

But with regard to this defence it is further stated that the whole question of *doctrine* is reserved. I quote the concluding pages (pp. 505–508):

"As our defence against the charge of schism rests upon the witness of the ancient Church, thus fully corroborated by the Eastern Communion, so our whole safety lies in maintaining the clear indubitable doctrine of that Church. I have avoided the whole question of *doctrine* in these remarks, both as leading me into a wider field than that which I am obliged to traverse so cursorily at present, and as distinct from the question of schism, though very closely connected with it. No one can deny that it is not sufficient for our safety to repel one single charge: but this charge was the most pressing,

the most specious, and one which requires to be disposed of before the mind can with equanimity enter upon any other. My conclusion is, that upon the strictest Church principles,—in other words, upon those principles which all Christendom, in its undivided state, recognized for eight hundred years, which may be seen in the Canons and Decrees of the seven Ecumenical Councils, and more at large in the actions and writings of the Fathers,—our present position is tenable at least till the convocation of a really Ecumenical Council. The Church of England has never rejected the Communion of the Western, and still less that of the Eastern Church: neither has the Eastern Church pronounced against her. She has only exercised the right of being governed by her own Bishops and Metropolitans. There is, indeed, much peril of her being forced from this, her true position. I cannot conceive any course which would so thoroughly quench the awakened hopes of the Church's most faithful children, as that her rulers, which I am loth even to imagine, at a crisis like the present, should seek support, not in the rock of the ancient Church, in which Andrewes, Laud, and Ken took refuge of old,—not in the unbroken tradition of the East and West, by which, if at all, the Church of Christ must be restored,—not in that great system which first subdued and then impregnated with fresh life the old Roman Empire, delaying a fall which nothing could avert, and which lastly built up out of those misshapen ruins all the Christian polities of Europe,—not in that time-honoured and universal fabric of doctrine to which our own Prayer-book bears witness, but in the wild, inconsistent, treacherous sympathies of a Protestantism, which the history of three hundred years in many various countries has proved to be dead to the heart's core. Farewell, indeed, to any true defence of the Church of England, any hope of her being built up once more to an Apostolical beauty and glory, of recovering her lost discipline and intercommunion with Christendom, if she is by any act of her rulers, or any decree of her own, to be mixed up with

the followers of Luther, Calvin, or Zuingle: with those who have neither love, nor unity, nor dogmatic truth, nor sacraments, nor a visible Church among themselves: who, never consistent but in the depth of error, and the secret instinct of heresy, deny regeneration in Baptism, and the gift of the Holy Spirit in Confirmation and Orders, and the power of the keys in absolution, and the Lord's Body in the Eucharist. This is the way of death; who is so mad as to enter on it? When Protestantism lies throughout Europe and America a great disjointed mass, in all the putridity of dissolution,

'Monstrum, horrendum, informe, ingens, *cui lumen ademptum*,'

judicially blinded, so that it cannot perceive Christ dwelling in His Church, while she grows to the measure of the stature of the perfect man, and making her members and ministers His organs—who would think of joining to it a living Church? Have we gone through so much experience in vain? Have we seen it develop into Socinianism at Geneva, and utter unbelief in Germany, and a host of sects in England and America, whose name is Legion, and who seem to be agreed in nothing else but in the denial of sacramental grace and visible unity; and all this at the last hour, in the very turning-point of our destiny, to seek alliance with those who have no other point of union but common resistance to the tabernacle of God among men? A persuasion that nothing short of the very existence of the Church of England is at stake, that one step into the wrong will fix her character and her prospects for ever, compels one to say that certain acts and tendencies of late have struck dismay into those who desire above all things to love and respect their spiritual mother. If the Jerusalem Bishopric, the still-born offspring of an illicit connection,

'Cui non risere parentes,'

be the commencement of a course of amalgamation with the Lutheran or Calvinistic heresy, who that values the authority

of the ancient undivided Church will not feel his allegiance to our own branch of it fearfully shaken? 'May that measure utterly fail, and come to nought, and be as though it had never been.' The time for silence is past. There is such a thing as 'propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.' It must be said publicly that such a course will lead infallibly to a schism, which will bury the Church of England in its ruins. If she is to become a mere lurking-place for omnigenous latitudinarianism; if first principles of the Faith, such as baptismal regeneration and priestly absolution, may be indifferently held or denied within her pale,—though if not God's very truths, they are most fearful blasphemies,—the sooner she is swept away the better. There is no mean between her being 'a wall daubed with untempered mortar,' or the city of the living God. I speak as one who has everything commonly valuable to man depending on this decision; moreover as a Priest in that Communion, whose constitution, violently suspended by an Enemy for one hundred and thirty years, yet requires that every one of her acts, which bind her as a whole, should be assented to by her Priesthood in representation, as well as by her Episcopacy. To suffer it to be an open question, a matter of doubt, which he who wills may hold, and he who wills may deny, whether or no grace is attached to the acts of the Church, whether or no she has the power and presence of her Lord, whether or no the Body of Christ is really offered on her altars, is a course as intrinsically dishonest and contemptible, as in its effects it must be disastrous. What house with such a rent in it can stand against the first wind that blows? The true position of the Church of England is far other than this. She claimed of old to maintain the Faith of the East and West: her security lies in setting it forth in all its purity, in all its completeness. It is not by dissembling, but by exhibiting the truth in its entire cycle, that she must prevail: not by enduring a secret and dishonest compromise between contradictory principles, but by maintaining THE FAITH, that she must fix the hearts of

her children, and draw to her those of her opponents. In a negation, in an unreality, no heart can rest. For one rule of life, and no more, hath God given, that which His Apostles preached and planted in all lands: and one bosom only is there in which His children may live in charity and die in peace, that of the Holy Church Catholic. In the hour of need no other support can we find, but that we belong to her who is the Bride of her Lord, the Body whose Head is in Heaven, which grows through all times and climes unto the measure of the stature of the perfect man to be revealed in eternity. One temple only is there which gathers in its vast embrace, its long-drawn aisles and central shrine, the worship of all human hearts: which symbolizes even in its outward form the life of all living beings, and the hope of man—the most Holy Trinity and the Cross—God in himself, and God become Man, his Saviour, his Food, and his Reward—the temple of the Church Catholic. Thrice blessed would he be, who was allowed by the labour of his hands, the toil of his mind, or the cost of his blood, to restore one stone which had been displaced in that divine structure. More blessed yet it were to remove a wall which the Enemy has been allowed to draw within the divine enclosure, defacing its fair proportions, and obscuring its sacred symbolism; to join together hearts, which, outwardly divided, feed on the same eternal verity of God made Man, and only require the knowledge of each other, of their reciprocal aims and hopes, to be united in outward confession as in inward belief, and to embrace in a never-ending charity."

It will be seen from the above that, while attesting all through my book the existence from the most ancient times of the Roman Primacy, and even calling it of divine institution, while pointing to its exercise by the great Popes, St. Leo in the middle of the fifth, and St. Gregory at the end of the sixth century, as the ideal of the Church's constitution, I ground a defence of the Church of England on two points: first, a supposed corruption of this Primacy, whatever it was, into

a Monarchy, the nature of which corruption, however, is nowhere distinctly specified; and secondly, an ignoring, or rather an implicit denial of the Royal Supremacy in the Church of England. I assume the Anglican Bishops to be in possession of those original episcopal powers, which I imagined that the Papacy had taken away from the Bishops of the Roman Church:—"I see not how a system, which is not a true development of the ancient Patriarchal constitution, but its antagonist, can be forced upon us, on pain of our salvation, who have the original succession of the ancient Bishops of this realm, if any such there be, and the old Patriarchal constitution, *sua tantum si bona norint*" (p. 368).

My work was published in February, 1848. Let us see what the lapse of two years did with the two props which I had set up for the Anglican Church.

In February, 1850, a trial in the Court of Arches, as to whether a beneficed clergyman of the Church of England might deny the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, had brought out the Royal Supremacy, as the real ruler and supreme governor, as in fact, *mutatis mutandis*, the Cathedra Petri of Anglicanism.

In years before this, from the end of 1845, when I went to you for advice and consolation under difficulties, your custom was to deny altogether that ugly fact of the Royal Supremacy. I well remember, therefore, the astonishment with which in that month of February, 1850, I turned over, in Gibson's Codex, the legal proofs of the Papal Supremacy having been transferred to the civil power. The effect which this discovery had upon me is detailed in a pamphlet which I then published, and of which I sent you a copy, entitled, "The Royal Supremacy viewed in reference to the Two Spiritual Powers of Order and Jurisdiction." I refer you to p. 11, which quotes the Act of Parliament, 1 Eliz. c. 1, sect. 17, the meaning of which Bishop Gibson puts by its side in these words, "such spiritual jurisdiction as hath heretofore been exercised, shall be for ever annexed to the crown," and his heading of the page is,

"Supreme Head of the Church of England, Papal and Regal." The section runs thus:—"And that also it may likewise please your Highness that it may be established and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that such Jurisdictions, Privileges, Superiorities, and Pre-eminences, Spiritual and Ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual and ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been or may lawfully be exercised or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempt, and enormities, shall for ever, by authority of this present Parliament, be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm."

Thus the supposed patriarchal constitution, on the possession of which I had rested for the defence of the Church of England, was turned at once into a supremacy of the civil power, which throughout the pamphlet just cited I prove by the testimony of the Fathers to be antichristian.

In the preface to my second book, I describe the effect which the discovery of this supremacy, and its exercise in this instance of the Gorham judgment, had upon the argument of my first book:—

"Some years ago the writer, already in great distress of mind at the historical and actual position of the Anglican Church, at the statements of her formularies, at the want of shape and principle in her practice, and, above all, at her general character and temperament as a communion, which seemed to him thoroughly alien from the spirit of the ancient Fathers, betook himself to the special consideration of one point,—the Primacy of the Roman See, which he thought more calculated than any other to lead him to a sure conclusion. . . .

"The writer, moreover, then professed, that 'he took up this inquiry for the purpose of satisfying his own mind;' that 'had he found the Councils and Fathers of the Church, before the division of the East and West, bearing witness *to* the

Roman Supremacy, as at present claimed, instead of *against* it, *he should have felt bound to obey them;*' and that, as a Priest of the Church Catholic in England, he desires to hold, and to the best of his ability will teach, all doctrine which the undivided Church always held.

"He made these professions in the simplicity, it is true, but likewise in the sincerity of his heart; and he made them publicly before God and man. Now, the conclusion to which he was at that time led by the study of antiquity, was, that a Primacy of divine institution had indeed been given to the See of Peter, but that the degree to which it had been pressed in later times, formed an excuse for those communions which, *while they maintained the Catholic faith whole and entire,* were *de facto* severed from it.

"Thus he made these professions when he thought that they led him to one conclusion; but he is equally bound to redeem them now that in the course of years they have led him to another.

"For though his study of the question terminated for the moment at this point, yet the supremacy claimed by St. Peter's See over the whole Church was a subject never out of his thoughts. And, in the mean time, what he saw of the actual state of the Roman Communion in other lands, of the principles on which it was based, and of the fruits which it produced, deeply moved and affected him. That Communion seemed in full possession of the great sacerdotal and sacramental system for which earnest Anglicans were vainly struggling, as well as of that religious unity, the name of which in an Anglican mouth sounded like a mockery, amid the deep contradictions both as to principles and as to practice, which are equally tolerated and supported by the Establishment. When just at this moment that one only doctrine of all those mooted at the Reformation, which had appeared to him to be as unquestionably taught at least by the formularies of the Anglican Church, as by the ancient Church—the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration—

was brought before the tribunal of the Court of Arches, and thence carried, by appeal, to the Queen in Council.

"This fact first brought home to the writer the real nature of the Royal Supremacy. Up to that time, without having accurately looked into that power, he had supposed it to be *practically* indeed a great tyranny over the Church subject to it, but *in principle* only a 'supreme civil power over all persons and causes in temporal things, and over the temporal accidents of spiritual things.'* But the more he considered it in its origin, and with reference to the power which it supplanted and succeeded, and in its exercise during three hundred years, and in its whole tone and demeanour to the communion over which it was 'supreme governor,' the more painfully he became convinced that such a limitation, desirable as it might be to quiet the consciences of Churchmen, was *as a fact* quite untenable. He felt that at his Anglican ordination as Deacon and as Priest, and subsequently, he had taken an oath of obedience to a power, the nature and bearing of which he did not then at all comprehend—a power which, the moment he came to comprehend it, seemed to be utterly opposed to every principle which he held dear as a Churchman, and to contradict as much the relation of the Church to the State which is set forth in the Holy Scriptures as the teaching of the Fathers and the acts of General Councils—a power which had no parallel in all historical Christianity up to the very time of its enactment, and which not merely enthralled, but destroyed, the continuous life of the Church. For he found that Supremacy of the civil power to consist in a supreme jurisdiction over the Establishment in matters both in faith and of discipline, and in the derivation of Episcopal mission and jurisdiction—not as to to their *origin*, indeed, but as to their *exercise* — from the Crown or the nation. The writer at once felt that he must repudiate either that Supremacy, or every notion of the Church, that is, the one divinely con-

* Paper by Archdeacon Manning and Dr. Mill.

stituted Society, to which the possession of the truth is guaranteed, and which has a continuous mission from our Lord for the spiritual government of souls, and the building up that humanity which He redeemed 'to the measure of the stature of the perfect man.' The Royal Supremacy, and the Church of God, are two ideas absolutely incompatible and contradictory.

"But my heart, my soul, my conscience, and no less my reason, every power and principle within me, were longing, sighing, thirsting for the Church of God, 'the pillar and ground of the truth.'

"Any decision to which the Queen in Council might come was unimportant in my sight in comparison to the fact that the Queen in Council had the power of deciding in matters of doctrine.

"Thus I felt before the decision came out; but when it came out there was added a sense of shame, of degradation, and of infamy, which had never before oppressed me, in that I belonged to a communion of which the supreme tribunal, when called upon to declare whether, by its existing rule of doctrine, infants were or were not regenerated by God in Holy Baptism, decided neither that they were nor that they were not, but that the clergy might believe and teach either one or the other, or both indifferently.

"And I felt thus because *any* error and *any* heresy are innocent and innocuous compared to the tenet that error and heresy are indifferent; and *any* legal decision, however erroneous, is *honourable*, compared to that which pronounces it equally lawful to believe and teach that God the Holy Ghost is given, and that He is not given, to a child by a certain act.

"Nor can I regard the institution of Mr. Gorham by the Court, and at the fiat, of the Archbishop of Canterbury, under the decree of Her Majesty as Supreme Governor of the Anglican Church, to be anything else but a public profession, that the Anglican Church is founded on the most dishonest

compromise—one which involves the denial of the whole Christian faith, and the practical establishment of unlimited Latitudinarianism.

"And yet I could not but acknowledge that the power which makes this decision is one fully competent to make it. It is that power to which the Anglican Church first submitted itself in 1534, and finally in 1559. It is the power under which it has lived three hundred years, and by whose grant it holds all its property. It is the power to which, during all that time, its Clergy have sworn obedience, as 'Supreme Governor;' and the nature of Supremacy is, that what is subject to it cannot call it in question. It is the power which not only nominates, but institutes Bishops; erects, divides, alters, and extinguishes, bishoprics; causes Convocation to be summoned, or not to be summoned; to transact, or not to transact business; confirms or does not confirm its acts; and, in short, the power which constitutes the distinctive character of the Anglican Communion as to its government, making it to differ both from the Catholic Church and all Protestant sects. Lastly, it is the power which alone makes it a whole, the Cathedra Petri of Anglicanism.

"For all these reasons it is a power which binds the Anglican Church, its Clergy, and its Laity, as a whole and as individuals; and, accordingly, a power by the rightness or wrongness of whose decision in matters of faith the conscience of every one in that communion, and his state before God, is touched.

"Now, to submit to this particular decision, I must resign every principle of faith as a Christian, as well as every feeling of honour as a freeman;—I would as soon sacrifice to Jupiter, or worship Buddha, or again, take my faith from the civil power;—and to remain in the Anglican Communion is to submit to it."

My defence of the Church of England had been thus completely swept away by the revelation of that civil supremacy which the Gorham judgment exhibited in action. For as soon

as it was made clear that what held the Church of England together, that is, the derivation of spiritual jurisdiction from the civil power, was an antichristian principle, and this thesis I have established in the tract above mentioned, what was there left to defend? I proceed to deal with that supposed corruption of the Roman Primacy into a monarchy, the imputation of which ran through my first book. And here I say, p. xi.:

"In the mean time the nearer consideration of the Royal Supremacy had opened my mind to comprehend the nature of its great antagonist, the Primacy of St. Peter's See. For, as has been said, the former consists in supremacy of jurisdiction, whether viewed as deciding in the last resort upon doctrine, and this as well legislatively, by giving licence to summon Convocation, and by confirming its acts, as judicially, in matters of appeal; or as giving mission and authority to exercise their powers to all Bishops. Now it was plain that such a supremacy must exist somewhere in every system. And immediately there followed the question, What is that *somewhere* in the Church Catholic? I could not even imagine any answer, save that it was St. Peter's Chair. And then I saw that the contest in Church history really lay not between Ultramontane and Gallican opinions, but between the liberty, independence, and spirituality of Christ's Church on the one hand, or on its being made a servile instrument of State government on the other: between a divine and a human Church. And now I went over again the testimonies of antiquity which I had before put together, and many others besides, and I found that one or two confusions and incoherencies of mind — especially the not understanding accurately the distinction between powers of Order and powers of Jurisdiction, and their consequences—had alone prevented my seeing, not merely a Primacy of divine institution, but how full, complete, and overwhelming was the testimony of the Church before the division of the East and West to the supremacy of St. Peter's See, *as at present claimed*, the

very same and no other. I had it proved to me by the evidence of unnumbered witnesses, that the charge of such supremacy being originated by the false decretals of Isidore Mercator was a most groundless, I fear also, a most malignant and treacherous imputation. And, moreover, I felt convinced that those who deny the Papal Supremacy must, if they are honest men, cease to study history, or at least begin their acquaintance with Christianity at the sixteenth century. Also that they must be content with a dead Church and no Creed.

"When I had come to this conclusion, it became a matter of absolute necessity and conscience to *act* upon it, to resign my office and function of teaching in the Anglican Church, and not only so, but to leave that communion itself, in which, so far from being able 'to hold and teach all doctrine which the undivided Church always held,' I could no longer teach, save as an 'open question' (from which degradation may God preserve me!), that very primary doctrine which stands at the commencement of the spiritual life.

"I leave therefore the Anglican Communion, not simply because it is involved in heresy by the decision of Her Majesty in Council, but because that Royal Supremacy in virtue of which Her Majesty decides at all in matters of doctrine, is a power utterly incompatible with the existence of the Church of God, and because Anglicanism, as a whole, has not only tampered with and corrupted the entire body of doctrine which concerns the Church and the Sacraments, but as a living system, is based upon the denial of that Primacy of St. Peter's See to which I find Holy Scripture and the Church of the East and West bearing witness; and which I believe, on their authority, to have been established by Christ Himself as the Rock and immovable foundation of His Church, her safeguard from heresy and dissolution."

The book of which I have cited the preface treats of the Primacy, in the first section, as an existing power; in the second, as based upon the express warrant of Scripture; in

the third, it defines the end and office of the Primacy; in the fourth, sketches in what its power consists; in the fifth, it gives the Church's witness to the Primacy, ranged under seven heads, which are—(1.) A General Supremacy in the Roman See over the whole Church; a Supremacy exactly the same in principle with that which is now claimed; (2.) The grounding of this Supremacy on the attribution of Matt. xvi 18, Luke xxii. 31, and John xxi. 15, in a special sense to the Pope, as successor of St. Peter; (3.) The original derivation of Episcopal Jurisdiction from the person of Peter, and its perpetual fountain in the See of Rome, as representing him; (4.) The Papal Supremacy over the East, acknowledged by its own rulers and councils before the separation; (5.) The Pope's attitude to Councils, as indicating his rank; (6.) His confirmation of Councils; (7.) The necessity of communion with the Pope. The testimonies cited under these seven heads answer incidentally all the historical objections and difficulties which are scattered through the first book. This answer, though incidental, is radical, because it cuts away the very root on which such objections grow. For instance, the objection which most constantly occurred in the first book, which ran indeed all through it, so as to form the main point of aggression on the claim of Rome, is a supposed antagonism between the idea of Primacy and Supremacy. The second book shows by a large induction of testimonies, occupying twenty pages, pp. 77–97, that the idea of Primacy and Supremacy is exactly the same; that the Supremacy now claimed and allowed is exactly identical with the Primacy as exercised by St. Leo at the Council of Chalcedon, which the first book set forth as the ideal of the Church's true constitution. Again, the first book had dwelt much on the denial of the Supremacy by the Eastern Church; the second shows, pp. 118–126, how entirely the Papal Supremacy over the East had been acknowledged by the rulers and councils of the East before the separation. And let the positive proof for the Primacy or Supremacy given in these five sections be fairly

considered, and I think it will be found that no great institution existing in the world stands upon a firmer basis, or has less alleged against it.

The two concluding sections contrast the action of the Primacy of St. Peter in the Catholic Church with the action of the Royal Supremacy in the Anglican Church, and the effects of the one with the effects of the other. And here I must repeat, what I have already said, that the Primacy, as set forth in the first five sections, has entirely cut away the standing ground which I had imagined for the Church of England, namely, that it was governed in accordance with the Council of Nicæa, by its own Bishops and Metropolitans, allowing the successor of St. Peter to hold St. Peter's place. But in these two sections, this supposed standing ground itself is shown to be most opposed to the real fact; the Reformation having transferred the Papal Supremacy to the civil power in England, so that its national Church, so far from yielding to St. Peter's See the original honour given by the Saxon Archbishops, had a distinct existence only in and by virtue of denying that honour, and of rendering it instead to the civil power.

In the Gorham decision not only is that civil power exhibited as exercising supreme spiritual jurisdiction, but, by a singular concurrence, it exercises it for the purpose of legalizing the grossest heresy. Its attitude was—"My children, here are two great parties among you, of clergy and of laity, the one holding baptismal regeneration as the key of the whole sacramental system; the other denying it, as incompatible with the doctrine of justification by faith alone. Now, I cannot afford to lose either of you: together you make me up: for three hundred years you have gone on, the one holding this doctrine, the other denying it. Pray go on so still. If you don't, I shall go to pieces. Let Mr. Gorham go back to his living; and let him, and all who hold with him, deny baptismal regeneration and the sacramental system. Let all the rest of you, who hold both, preach and teach

it as you have done before. I am strong enough to contain you both, and far too weak to lose either." And this was the national Church of a people who count truth and honesty to be the distinctive marks of the national character.

What you thought concerning this decision at the time, I find recorded in the following propositions, which bear your name attached to them :—"To admit the lawfulness of holding an exposition of an article of the Creed, contradictory of the essential meaning of that article, is in truth and in fact to abandon that article;" and "inasmuch as the Faith is one, and rests upon one principle of authority, the conscious, deliberate, and wilful abandonment of the essential meaning of an article of the Creed, destroys the divine foundation upon which alone the entire Faith is propounded by the Church;" and "any portion of the Church, which does so abandon the essential meaning of an article of the Creed, forfeits not only the Catholic doctrine in that article, but also the office and authority to witness and teach as a member of the Universal Church."

So you stated in the year 1850. You have since been, for fifteen years, a Presbyter, a Dignitary, and a Royal Professor in the Church which has so done, and now you come forward with the exact contradictory of these propositions in behalf of the Church which has so done, that is, with a book entitled "The Truth and Office of the English Church." Now, in the year 1848, in the book which you quote as "the fruit of investigations, to whose issue I was indifferent," I wrote, "If the Church of England is to become a mere lurking-place for omnigenous latitudinarianism; if first principles of the Faith, such as baptismal regeneration and priestly absolution, may be indifferently held or denied within her pale—though if not God's very truths, they are the most fearful blasphemies—the sooner she is swept away the better." In the year 1850 this very thing came to pass; and I felt that my defence of her in that book had crumbled into dust. In obedience to my principles, therefore, I left her communion: have you

in obedience to yours stayed in it? Which of us, I ask, has written, and which of us has acted, "as a partisan"?

And here one may say a word respecting your book coming forth after these fifteen years as a professed *Eirenicon*, which, but for the name and for the letter you have since written to a Catholic paper, every one would have taken for a petard. You state in page 44, "How the Church of England can be said formally to deny the indissoluble unity of the Church I know not;" as if you had never heard of the Royal Supremacy, from which the Church of England dates its origin as a distinct body, in obedience to which every man in order to become a minister of hers must take an oath recognizing as lodged in the civil power that same Supremacy, which, as well in the Church of England when Catholic, before its origin as a distinct body, as in every other province of the Catholic Church, had been centred in the Apostolic See of St. Peter. It is the transference of this Supremacy to the Crown, that is, the nation, which every lawyer will tell you is the law of the Church of England, and has been so since the act of Elizabeth above cited, which constitutes the formal and the permanent act of schism and heresy; and which, further, makes the Church of England in its very root and basis antichristian; which sets up the Church of England, not accidentally, but in essence, as the enemy and rival, wherever she exists, of the Church of Christ. I believe, indeed, that many of her children are quite unconscious of their mother's history. They know nothing of the bill of divorce which she gave to her Husband; they know nothing of that ocean of blood through which she waded in order to become the paramour of the State. But their ignorance does not remove or alter the testimony of history; nor does the lapse of three centuries validate the original basis on which the Anglican Church stands. Her actual title to any spiritual jurisdiction at all rests on the grant of the State mentioned in that original document of Elizabeth above cited, by which out of her supreme royal authority she supplied whatever was

wanting according to Ecclesiastical Law, and confirmed Parker in his see. She gave Parker his jurisdiction as Bishop, just as the crown gave it to Dr. Longley. Never did heathen emperor of old present to the Christian martyr a claim more baseless or more antichristian than this; to which not only has the Church of England submitted, but to which she actually owes whatever unity she possesses in that mass of most heterogeneous subjects—if it be not fitter to call them masters—who live within her pale: those who believe in and those who disbelieve sacraments; those who believe in the inspiration of Scripture, and those who disbelieve it. For this very thing, this supremacy of the civil power, in and by which she was set up, in and by which she continues to be, she has made herself drunk with the blood of martyrs, beginning with More and Fisher: by means of this —representing it as treason to deny it—she maintained a system of persecution, so cunningly devised and so pertinaciously carried out, as to surpass at least in malignant ingenuity even the persecution of the first three centuries. For refusing this mark of the Beast our priests were tortured and executed, our nobles and gentry impoverished, imprisoned, deprived of their most sacred rights, while our people were juggled out of their belief; and by such a tyranny, ruthlessly prolonged through two centuries, the Catholic Faith was well-nigh banished from England, the Church whose root and charter was this civil supremacy looking on applauding, and entering into the possessions and rank of the Church despoiled. And after all this you now come forward and tell us that the Church which *did* this was part of the Church that *suffered* it; and that, as living upon the same sacraments, they both possessed the same divine life of Christ. Surely, in speaking of the "Truth and Office of the English Church," you have omitted that which marks her out distinctively among all past and present communities calling themselves Christian. She *was* to bear witness to a great Truth; she *was* to perform a great Office. The Truth to which

she was to bear witness was, that to derive the spiritual power of jurisdiction in the Church of Christ from the civil power of the nation in which it lives was an anti-christian heresy; and the Office which she had to perform was to show during three hundred years to what depths of spiritual degradation, to what dissolution of the faith, to what destruction of discipline, to what utter anarchy and extreme passionateness of division in those who remained within her, to what fertility of minutely-parcelling schism in those who left her, such a principle, made the root of an institution, would lead. She has marvellously illustrated this Truth; she has excellently executed this Office. How many of her ministers, how many of her laity, would receive the doctrinal statements of your book? How many would receive and agree in any definite statement of faith at all? But if in the United Church of England and Ireland there are as many opinions about the Christian faith as there are individuals, there is but one Royal Supremacy. When doctrines are disputed within her, the same authority which sits as a Board of Trade will pronounce as a Board of Doctrine; and *she* has to receive the solution in the judgment of a creedless council, delivered by an unbelieving chancellor,* and *you* have to *protest* and *accept* the judgment. Her Truth and her Office are

* This Court is in its constitution in exact accordance with the original statute 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, which consummated the schism, and by which the ecclesiastical causes of the Church and Realm of England were governed and decided from the days of King Henry (except that it was repealed in 1554 and revived in 1559) to those of William IV. It runs thus: "IV. And for lack of justice at or in any of the courts of the Archbishops of this realm, or in any of the king's dominions, it shall be lawful for the parties grieved to appeal to the king's majesty in the king's Court of Chancery; and that upon every such appeal a commission shall be directed under the Great Seal to such persons as shall be named by the king's highness, his heirs or successors, like as in case of appeal from the Admiral's Court, to hear and definitely determine such appeals, and the causes concerning the same. Which commissioners, so by the king's highness, his heirs or successors, to be named or appointed, shall have full power and authority to hear and definitely determine every such appeal, with the causes and all circumstances concerning the same: And that such judgment or sentence as the said commissioners shall make and decree, in and upon any such appeal, shall be good and effectual and also definitive; and no further appeals to be had or made from the said commissioners for the same." This statute was pointed out to you by Mr. Maskell in 1850, who says in a note:

before us. It has been a grand illustration carried out on a large scale and during a long period. No *Eirenicon* will ever reach the force of this *Polemicon;* be assured the Church of God has registered the experience in her archives, and will not forget it.

I am, dear Dr. Pusey,
Yours truly,
T. W. ALLIES.

Dec. 21, 1865.

"Considering the nature of the subject, this business-like, commonplace manner of disposing of the little details of the new arrangements is really deserving of our admiration: 'like as in case of appeal from the Admiral's Court.' Could anything be better?" The Court of Privy Council succeeded by the act of William IV. to this Court of Delegates. When you ask for a change in the constitution of this Court, you are asking in fact *to undo the Reformation.* Antichristian no doubt the constitution of the Court is; your error is in refusing to see that it has always been so, and that it makes the Church of England what it is.

IV.

DR. PUSEY AND THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

CONTENTS.

PART		PAGE
I.	Dr. Pusey's Theory as to the Effect of the Sacraments ...	311
II.	Dr. Pusey's Statement as to the African Church's Independence of Rome	340
III.	Dr. Pusey's Denial of the Ancient Church; or, a Comment from the Ancient Church upon Indissoluble Unity, Visible Headship, and Perpetual Teaching	376

DR. PUSEY AND THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

Among the advantages to the cause of the truth which we hope will result from the publication of Dr. Pusey's book, we are disposed to rank as the highest, that he has been led in one place to give a statement of his own position. Strange as it may seem, this is what Anglicans have rarely or never done. They have brought unnumbered charges of corruption of doctrine against the Catholic Church; they have made unnumbered attacks upon the authority of the Holy See; but they have ever avoided a simple and clear exposition of their own substantial standing-ground. They have never shown how they professed to reconcile their own separated condition with any theory of there being one Church. Yet, in order to come to a conclusion in any controversy, it is of the first importance to delineate one's own position and that of one's opponent; to compare and contrast them together, and by such comparison and contrast to show that the one is secure and impregnable, the other faulty and untenable. So far from doing this, Anglicans have not even ventured to say what they mean when they repeat in the Creed, "I believe one Holy Catholic Church." We are therefore proportionately thankful to Dr. Pusey that, though it be in a book the far greater part of which is given up to assail the doctrine of the Catholic Church, he yet does in one place say what he means by these words.

In pp. 44–66 of his book he is meeting a charge brought by Archbishop Manning against the Church of England, that "if it teaches that there is a Church upon earth, it formally denies its indissoluble unity." Hereupon Dr. Pusey makes his statement of what constitutes the unity of the Church. "Our highest union with one another is an organic union with one another, through union with Him, Christ Himself." —It is "a unity derived from Christ, and binding all to Christ, descending from the Head to the Body, and uniting the Body to the Head." * He illustrates this by beautiful passages from St. Athanasius, St. Cyril of Alexandria, and St. Hilary. "There is," he says, from St. Paul, "one Body and one Spirit; one Body, as held together by the one Holy Spirit." † "This unity, derived from our Blessed Lord as Head of the Church, is imparted primarily through the Sacraments." ‡ "Such an organization, as essential to the transmission of grace from Christ our Head, seems to lie in the words of St. Paul, 'holding the head, from which all the body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered and knit together, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, increaseth with the increase of God.' The joints and bands are in the image of the body naturally those ministers by which the whole body is held together in one, and through which spiritual nourishment is ministered to the growth of the whole." § "Thus, then, we have from Holy Scripture, as means and conditions of the unity of the Church, one all-perfect Author, 'the one God and Father of all;' one end to which all tends, the 'one hope of our calling;' 'one Head,' the Head of the Church, our 'one Lord;' 'one Spirit,' giving life to every living member; the 'same Sacraments,' 'one Baptism,' and 'one Bread,' by which we are all engrafted into or maintained in the one Body of our one Head; one apostolic descent of the Bishops and Pastors of the flock, coming down from One; 'one' common 'Faith,' that which was given once for all, with the anathema that we hold no doctrine at

* p. 46. † p. 52. ‡ p. 54. § p. 55.

variance with it, although an angel from heaven were to preach it. Of these we are receivers only. These if any wilfully reject, they reject Christ. They sever themselves not only from the Body of Christ, but directly from the Head, losing the band which binds them unto Him." *

So far as this, all is coherent, true, and clear in Dr. Pusey's statement, which is, in fact, the statement of St. Paul in Eph. iv. 4, and the belief of the Catholic Church concerning itself, as it was from the beginning, and as it will be to the end. But now this coherency, truth, and clearness are suddenly broken up by, as it were, the furtive entrance of a counter idea, at utter variance with that "organic union with one another through union with Christ Himself," which constitutes the one Body of Christ. For Dr. Pusey proceeds: "These while Christian *bodies* retain, *they* are, so long, like the river which 'went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.' *They* come from the fountain of blessedness; *they* flow down to the ocean of the eternal love of God; *they* water the parched land; *they* cool and refresh the weary and the thirsty in the places which God has appointed for them, with the one stream coming down from Him. *They* are one in their One Original, from which they continually and unchangeably derive their being. *They* adore God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost with the same new song of the Gospel; *they* confess Him in the words of apostolic faith; *they* offer to Him the same incense of praise, and the same holy offering whereof Malachi foretold, 'from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same,' pleading on earth to the Eternal Father that one Sacrifice as presented in heaven; *they* receive the same 'Bread which came down from heaven to give life to the world.' Unknown in face, in place separate, different in language, opposed, alas! in some things to one another, still before the throne of God *they* are one Holy Catholic Apostolic Church; each several portion praying for itself and for the

* p. 56.

rest, united in the prayers and oblation which it offers for all, by the One Bread and the One Spirit which dwelleth in all."

The whole force of the idea which Dr. Pusey had been conveying was, that there is one Body as well as one Spirit, and that this Body, being the Body of Christ, animated by His Spirit, the spirit of holiness and truth and unity, unites in organic union the members of Christ to Himself the Head by the communication of the same sacraments and the infusion of the same faith. And now the unity is suddenly changed into plurality; and that indefinite. The Body of Christ is turned into "Christian bodies." "These," we are told, "while Christian bodies retain, *they* are, so long, like the river which 'went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.'" Does Dr. Pusey mean to suggest that the one Body of Christ is parted into four? Of course, if so, it ceases to be a body, and to have the properties and the life of a body. But what is the antecedent to "these"? If we look above, it should be, "one God, one end, one Head, one Spirit, the same sacraments by which we are all ingrafted into or maintained in the one Body of the one Head; one apostolic descent, and one common Faith." But how is it possible that those who retain all these should become "Christian *bodies*," instead of being the one Body of Christ? It is in the same breath to affirm and deny the same qualities of the same object. It is not by "retaining," as in Dr. Pusey's hypothesis, but by denying some one or more of the things above mentioned that those who were in the one Body of Christ would become "Christian bodies" instead. And so it appears from his description of these "bodies." First, they are likened to four heads of water from one source; which seems the giving up of unity: secondly, instead of being "throughout all the world one bridal chamber of Christ, in which nothing can be distant, nothing accounted as foreign," * they are "unknown

* Pope Celestine, A.D. 430, to the Clergy of Constantinople.—Mansi, viii. 147; Constant. Epist. Rom. Pontif. p. 1131.

in face, in place separate, different in language, opposed, alas! in some things to one another;" that is, they have not the Pentecostal gift, the one language of unity, but division and opposition; and having ceased to be one, have ceased to speak the same truth, and so to be of one spirit with each other. They have therefore given up the unity both of the Body and of the Spirit; and yet Dr. Pusey asserts that they "still before the throne of God are one Holy Catholic Apostolic Church;" and while human reason rejects and scouts such a monster as is here described, He who assumed a human body in order to create His great mystical Body accepts it and owns it for His. Is it possible for unreason to go beyond the confusion of thought shown in all this? We have a beautiful statement of the one Body and one Spirit, drawn from St. Paul, and corroborated by the most emphatic illustrations from the greatest Fathers, the whole force of which lies in the communication of the divine life of Christ through the same sacraments *in the unity of one Body*. Suddenly this is all relinquished for the existence of several bodies, opposed to each other; and it is imagined by the writer that one and the same conception is maintained by him throughout, as if the first part of his description were not the exact contradiction of the last. He argues, that because the great Fathers declare the communication of the life of Christ to be through the sacraments in the unity of the one Body of Christ, therefore they declare it to be through the sacraments in the disunion and separation of these so-called Christian bodies from each other. For, as we are further told by Dr. Pusey, though "the divine gift of unity requires, as a corresponding duty, mutual love," and of this "intercommunion is the natural expression," * yet "there is no ground to assume that suspensions of intercommunion (sad and mournful as they are) in themselves hinder either body from being a portion of the Body of Christ." † So "the great and glorious Body of Christ" ‡ becomes in Dr. Pusey's hands "Christian bodies,"

* p. 58. † p. 65.

‡ τὸ μέγα καὶ ἔνδοξον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ.—St. Irenæ. iv. 337.

not having intercommunion with each other, being, in fact, "in some things opposed to one another;" * and to increase our amazement, the author considers that in making this statement on behalf of the Church of England, and as its theory of unity, he is defending it from the charge of denying the indissoluble unity of the Church.

It would seem, then, that what forms the basis of Dr. Pusey's confidence in the Church of England, the ground to which he trusts for his own salvation and the salvation of others in it, is this belief: that the divine life of Christ is communicated through the sacraments to bodies not in intercommunion with each other, and opposed in some things to each other. And whereas his premises led to the inference that the sacraments derived the life of Christ through the one Body to His members—the force of which idea lies precisely in this, that men receive the life of Christ by being in His one Body, the life imparted being conterminous with the Body, Dr. Pusey's own conclusion is, that the sacraments derive that life through several bodies at variance with each other to the members of these bodies; this conclusion being the exact contradiction of the unity which he set out with describing, and the establishment of that very charge brought by Archbishop Manning which he wished to refute.

Now, it so happens that a large part of St. Augustine's life was spent in refuting a particular schism, in the course of doing which he had to bring out again and again the truth here denied by Dr. Pusey. We shall bring presently abundant proof to show that the chief point urged by St. Augustine against the Donatists was this, that the possession of the sacraments does not carry with it the sanctifying grace of the Holy Ghost, unless it be within the one Body of the Church's unity, *in compage unitatis Ecclesiæ*. The controversy with the Donatists was exactly calculated to illustrate this truth, because they possessed, undisputed, everything which the Church possessed, except the unity of the Body. They

* p. 57.

held the whole Faith, except that part of it which was broken by their division of unity.

The Donatists arose in the year 311, when Cæcilianus having been duly elected and consecrated Bishop of Carthage, the Primate and Bishops of Numidia, assisted by a party at Carthage hostile to the new Bishop, met, elected, and consecrated Majorinus as Bishop. The schism thus begun spread through all Africa; carried away with it, as it would seem, the majority of the population; and eighty years afterwards, when Augustine began his episcopate, was strong enough to hold a Council at Bagai, A.D. 394, attended by 310 Bishops, besides 100 more of their party separated by an internal schism.*

It is desirable to make here a few simple statements respecting the position held by the Donatists, and to define what they had, and what they had not, of things belonging to the Church.

Now, in the first place, there was no question as to the validity of their orders. St. Augustine never thought of contesting the point that they possessed all the orders possessed by the Catholic Church.

Secondly, though their conduct in electing and consecrating Majorinus against Cæcilianus incurred the guilt of schism, yet St. Augustine admitted that they had throughout Africa a valid succession of Bishops, running up without any break. There was in fact, as a general rule, a Donatist and a Catholic succession in each diocese; clergy against clergy, altar against altar.

Thirdly, the Donatists possessed the whole sacramental system of the Church, and exact identity of worship with it. Their schism had not taken some of the sacraments and discarded others, nor altered the nature of the sacraments, nor denied their efficacy. They possessed, maintained, and used all which the Church possessed; and moreover administered them as the Church administered them.

* Tillemont, Ecc. Hist. vi. 140.

Fourthly, they held the same Faith, the same body of doctrine as the Catholic Church, except that one point which was involved in their schism, and which, persevered in, would, of course, make a heresy, viz., they maintained that the whole succession of Cæcilianus, and those who followed him, and those who communicated with him, had ceased to be part of the true Church, as being involved in the guilt of the consecrator of Cæcilianus, Felix of Aptunga, whom they asserted to have been a traditor, a betrayer of the sacred books in the persecution. With this single exception, which bears a certain resemblance to the statement in the book of the Anglican Homilies, that the whole Christian world had been plunged in idolatry for a thousand years, perpetuated by the Anglican party, which calls the Pope Antichrist, though it is far less strong than such statement, they held and believed everything which the Pope and the rest of the Church held and believed. No such difficulties, therefore, respecting doctrine existed in the case of the Donatists as exist in the case of Anglicans. They had, with this one exception, the same Faith as the Roman Church, and they all had it. There was among the Donatists nothing analogous to the High Church, Low Church, and Broad Church schools, with all their shades of difference, among Anglicans. They were of one jet and homogeneous; their schism turning upon an exaggeration of Catholic doctrine, not upon denial and deficiency.

Fifthly, they stood upon their old episcopal constitution, such as it had been in St. Cyprian's time. They were not joined together by any heretical principle directly antagonistic to the Church's unity, such as the derivation of the Church's spiritual jurisdiction from the civil power. Their community, as such, was severed from the Pope and the Catholic Church by an actual schism; but that schism was not consecrated into a principle, and made the bond of their separate existence, by transferring to the State the power of internal control and spiritual government, which had from its origin belonged to the Church.

In these five most important particulars, undisputed orders, undisputed succession, sacraments both undisputed and identical in number and nature with the Catholic sacraments, Faith the same as that of the Catholic Church, and lastly, their episcopal constitution in their several provinces, as it came down from its first origin, untrammelled by the intrusion of any civil power, they were markedly and most favourably distinguished from Anglicans, as represented by Dr. Pusey. And these five points are of such moment that when, in 411, exactly one hundred years after the schism had begun, a conference took place between the Catholics, represented by St. Augustine, together with six other Bishops, and the whole Donatist episcopate, the Catholics were enabled to offer them such terms that, upon simply giving up their schism, their Bishops should be received as Bishops, governing in each diocese in conjunction with the Catholic Bishop, until the survivor should succeed to the government of the whole flock. And, as a general rule, their clergy and those who professed continence or the virginal life among them were, upon becoming Catholics, received in the same rank which they had in the Donatist community.

In one other particular, the sixth which we shall mention, they had the same excuse as the Anglicans. In St. Augustine's time, being of a hundred years' standing, they had received the schism from their parents, and were held in it by all the ties of education, custom, friendship, and worldly interests, which we see in such cases to be most powerful. In the application, therefore, of Catholic principles to them they could claim every indulgence on this score which Anglicans at present could ask for. In the one case as in the other, the guilt of schism, whatever it be, was inherited; and they had not the crime of those who began, but of those who continued it, with whatever palliation the mighty power of habit and transmitted custom carries with it. It was probably as contrary to the natural feelings, the worldly interests, and the national prejudices of a Donatist to become a Catholic as to

those of an Anglican, for St. Augustine calls the Donatist temper "that most obstinate inveterateness of an obdurate habit." *

If, then, one could remove from the position of Anglicans, such as Dr. Pusey represents, every difficulty except one, the state, that is, of separation and schism; if one could suppose in Anglicans the possession of undoubted orders, of a clear and unbroken episcopal succession, of sacraments the same in number and nature as those of the Catholic Church, of the same Faith as that of the Catholic Church; and lastly, if one could remove the very formal principle which constitutes Anglicanism, which gives it a certain unity of fact, and makes it what it is, that is, the derivation of spiritual jurisdiction in it from the civil power, which every Donatist, as well as every Catholic, in St. Augustine's time would have laid down his life to repudiate;—if we could do all this, and so idealize, as it were, the Anglican position into the Donatist, we should then have persons in the same condition as those to whom St. Augustine used the language which we are about to quote. And in order to see the force of this language in the great Doctor's mouth, it was necessary to point out the above six particulars. For Dr. Pusey is ready to condemn schism in ancient times, where personal interests and the ties of education and custom do not come into question; and when accordingly he admits that it is schism: the difficulty is to make him see that anything is schism now. Let us suppose, then, that he possesses the five advantages above enumerated, together with the sixth which we ourselves recognize in him and in the Donatists alike, and see how St. Augustine would treat his belief that the possession of the sacraments, under such circumstances, carries with it the sanctifying grace of the Holy Ghost, the membership with Christ.

First, then, as to the point that the schism only of the Donatists was culpable, and that this once removed the impediment to their being Catholics would be removed also.

* "Obdurate consuetudinis pertinacissimam vetustatem."—Contr. Gaudent. i. 33, tom. ix. 659 b.

In his book on the unity of the Church he speaks of "correcting their single crime, that is, that they separated themselves without cause from the unity of the whole world."*

To Emeritus, in 405, he writes: "For neither do we object to you anything except the crime of schism, which by your evil perseverance you have made also into a heresy.—Do not suffer yourself to be turned aside to other questions; for this is the point from which the most regularly constituted inquiry must start, Why the schism was made?"†

To Theodorus, in the year 401, he writes: "Know, then, that we do not detest in them anything except their own dissension, by which they became schismatical, or heretical, because they do not hold the unity and truth of the Catholic Church; inasmuch as they are not in peace with the people of God, which is spread over the whole world, and inasmuch as they do not recognize in men the baptism of Christ. We disapprove, therefore, of the evil error which they hold; but we recognize in them and venerate and embrace the good name of God which they have, and His sacrament. But for this it is that we grieve over them as wandering, and desire to win them to God through the charity of Christ, that they may possess in the peace of the Church unto salvation that holy sacrament which, outside of the Church's peace, they possess unto destruction. If, then, the evils of men be taken away from between us, and the goods of God in men be honoured, there will be brotherly concord and loving peace; so that the charity of Christ shall overcome in men's hearts the persuasion wrought by the devil. And therefore, when they come to us from the party of Donatus, we do not receive their evils, that is, their dissension and error; but these are removed from between us as being the impediments of concord, and we embrace our brethren, standing with them, as the Apostle says, in the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace, and recognizing in them the goods of

* St. Aug. tom ix. 339 b † Tom. ii. 209 g, 211 b.

God, whether holy baptism, or the benediction of ordination, or the profession of continence, or the seal of virginity, or the faith of the Trinity, and whatever other things there be—all which, although they were there, yet profited nothing, so long as there was not charity. But who says with truth that he possesses Christ's charity when he does not embrace his unity? When, therefore, they come to the Catholic Church, they do not receive here that which they possessed; but, in order that what they possessed may begin to profit them, they receive here that which they did not possess. For they receive here the root of charity in the bond of peace and in the society of unity, in order that all those sacraments of truth which they possess may avail to them, not to condemnation, but to deliverance. For the loppings of the vine ought not to boast that they are not thorn-wood, but vine-wood. For if they do not live upon the root, they will be cast into the fire with all their kind. But of some broken branches the Apostle said, that God is able to ingraft them again. And therefore, most dear brother, whomsoever of them you may chance to see in doubt as to what rank they would be received in by us, show them this my handwriting, well known to you; and if they wish to keep it, let them do so, because I call God to witness upon my soul that I will so receive them as that they shall not only keep the baptism of Christ which they have received, but likewise the honour of consecration as religious and of continence." *

The next document not only bears St. Augustine's authority, but is a letter of the Council of Zerta, in 412, to the whole body of Donatists, after a conference held in the preceding year between St. Aurelian of Carthage, St. Augustine, and five other Bishops, representing the Catholic episcopate on the one side, and the whole Donatist episcopate on the other. It is, therefore, the voice of the African Church itself. "The Bishops of your party, whom all elected to speak for them, endeavoured to their utmost that there should be no con-

* "Honorem sanctimonii et continentiæ."—Ep. 61, tom. ii. 148.

ference. Then at last, not having succeeded in this, what took place itself proved the ground of their fear, as they were beaten on all points. For they confessed that they had nothing to say against the Catholic Church spread over the whole world, because they were overwhelmed by divine testimonies from the sacred Scriptures, in which the Church is marked out as beginning from Jerusalem, and increasing through those places wherein the Apostles preached, and wrote down in their letters and acts the names of such places, and as thence spreading through the other nations. That they had no cause against this Church they openly professed, wherein our victory in the name of God is most evident. For in establishing the existence of that Church with which we communicate, and they manifestly do not communicate, they bear witness that long ago they were overcome; and most plainly indicate to you, if you be wise, what you ought to give up and what to hold, not with that falsehood with which they do not cease even yet to speak untruly to you, but with that truth which, when convicted, they were compelled to confess. Therefore, whosoever is separated from this Catholic Church, however laudably he may think that he lives, by this single crime that he is disjoined from the unity of Christ, shall not have life, but the wrath of God remains upon him. But whosoever in this Church lives well, the sins of others cause him no harm, because every one shall bear his own burden, as the Apostle says. . . . But if you do not despise what God offers you, and, after a cause so carefully examined and cleared up with such pains, you relinquish your perverse habit, and agree with the peace and unity of Christ, we shall rejoice in your correction; and the sacraments of Christ, which you possess unto judgment in the sacrilege of schism, will do you service and be salutary when you hold Christ the Head in Catholic peace, where charity covers a multitude of sins." *

2. We have here been brought from the point with which

* Ep. 141, tom. ii. 457 d, 461 d.

we begun, that the schism of the Donatists only was culpable, to St. Augustine's further statement as to the effect of the sacraments outside of unity. On this we must dwell at greater length; and first as to that of baptism.

In his first book against the Donatist Gaudentius, he says: "Neither flatter yourselves because we do not rescind your baptism. This is not yours, but belongs to the Catholic Church, which we hold; whence on your departure you took it with you, not indeed to your salvation, but to your destruction." *

In his first book upon Baptism, against the Donatists, he says: "So let them understand that in communions separated from the Church men can be baptized, where the baptism of Christ is given and received by the same celebration of the sacrament; which, however, profits unto the remission of sins then, when any one being reconciled to unity is stripped of the sacrilege of dissent, by which his sins were held upon him, and were prevented from being remitted. For, as in the case of a man who approaches with an insincere heart, he is not baptized afresh, but receives the cleansing upon his own pious correction and sincere confession, which without baptism he could not, so that what was given before, then begins to avail unto salvation, when his insincerity departs by the truth of his confession: so likewise he who, as the enemy of charity and of the peace of Christ, has in any heresy or schism received the baptism of Christ, which the separatists had not lost, by which sacrilegious crime his sins were not remitted, when he has corrected himself, and has come to the society and unity of the Church, is not to be baptized again, because in the very reconciliation and peace it is granted to him that the sacrament should now begin to profit him in unity unto the remission of his sins, which sacrament, accepted in schism, was unable to profit him." †

* Cont. Gaudent. ii. 9, tom ix. 672 e.

† De Baptism, cont. Donat. i. 12, tom. ix. 89 b.

In his fourth book on Baptism, against the Donatists, he repeats: "As baptism does not profit that recipient who renounces the world in word, but not in deed, so it does not profit him who is baptized in heresy or in schism: but when in either of these cases the man is corrected, that begins to profit which before, though it was possessed, profited not." *

The following passage is remarkable, because St. Augustine uses exactly the same illustration of the water of Paradise used above by Dr. Pusey, but uses it to draw from it the contradictory of Dr. Pusey's conclusion. The latter had said: "These while Christian bodies retain, they are, so long, like the river which 'went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.' They come from the fountain of blessedness; they flow down to the ocean of the eternal love of God; they water the parched land; they cool and refresh the weary and the thirsty in the places which God has appointed for them, with the one stream coming down from Him: opposed in some things to one another, still before the throne of God they are One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church." St. Augustine says: "The comparison of the Church with Paradise indicates to us, that as to its baptism indeed men may even outside receive it, but that no one can either receive or retain the salvation of blessedness outside of it (the Church). For the streams too, as Scripture witnesses, flowed broadly from the fountain of Paradise, even outside of it; since they are mentioned by name, and all know through what lands they flow, and that they were placed outside of Paradise; not for that, however, is the happiness of the life which is mentioned in Paradise to be found in Mesopotamia or in Egypt, whither these streams reached. Thus it is that though the water of Paradise be outside of Paradise, the blessedness, however, is only within Paradise. So, therefore, the Church's baptism may be outside the Church; but the gift of a blessed life is only to be found within the Church, which likewise is founded

* De Baptism, cont. Donat. iv. 4, tom. ix. 124 b.

upon the rock, and which has received the keys of binding and loosening. *This is She who alone holds and possesses all the power of her Bridegroom and her Lord;* by which conjugal power she can raise children even from handmaids: and if these be not proud, they shall be called into the lot of the inheritance; but if they be proud, they shall remain without. The more therefore, because we are champions of the Church's honour and unity, let us not attribute to heretics whatever we recognize in them belonging to her; but let us convict and instruct them that what they have from unity is of no avail to salvation, except they come to that unity. For the water of the Church is faithful and salutary and holy to those who use it well; but to use it well outside the Church no one is able. While by those who use it ill, whether within or without, it is borne unto their punishment, but does not contribute to their reward." *

This doctrine of St. Augustine's, that baptism received in heresy or schism does not convey the remission of sins, is applied by him to the case of adults only; because in them only the *obex* of schism and heresy can exist to counteract the proper grace of the sacrament.

3. In the following places he applies this doctrine to all the sacraments.

In his 89th letter, addressed to a friend, he meets an objection of the Donatists as to their being received with their orders: "In fine, not as they suppose, and as they boast, do we receive them such as they were, but altogether changed, because they do not begin to be Catholics unless they have ceased to be heretics. For it is not their sacraments which are hostile to us, for these are common to us with them, being not human but divine. The error which is their own must be removed, which they have evilly imbibed, not the sacraments which they have received as we have, which they bear and possess, in proportion as they possess them unworthily, to their greater punishment, but which they still

* De Baptism, cont. Donat. iv. 1, tom. ix. 121 e.

do possess. Having, therefore, relinquished their errors, and having corrected the wrong of their separation, they pass over from heresy to the Church's peace, which they did not possess, and without which what they did possess was pernicious to them."*

In his 93rd letter, A.D. 407, to a Donatist Bishop, he says: "You ask, why then do you seek us? why do you thus receive those whom you call heretics? Observe how easy and how short my answer. We seek you because you have perished, that we may rejoice over you when found, at whose loss we were grieving. But heretics we say that you are, before, however, you are converted to Catholic peace, before you put off the error in which you are involved. But when you pass over to us, certainly you leave what you were, in order not to pass over to us as heretics. Baptize me, then, you say. So I would, if you were not already baptized, or if you had been baptized with the baptism of Donatus, or Rogatus, and not with that of Christ. It is not the Christian sacraments which have made you a heretic, but the wrong of your dissent. The good which has remained in you is not to be denied because of the evil which came out of you. The good which you possess, you possess to your ill, unless you possess it there from whence it is. For from the Catholic Church are all the Lord's sacraments, which you so possess and give, as they were possessed and given before you came out thence. But you do not, therefore, not possess them because you are not there, whence are what you possess. We do not change in you the things in which you are with us; for in many things you are with us, for of such it was said, 'in many things they were with me' (Ps. liv. 19). But we correct those things in which you are not with us, and wish you to receive here those things which you possess not where you are. But you are with us in baptism, in the Creed, in the rest of the Lord's sacraments. In the spirit, however, of unity, and in the bond of peace, in fine, in the Catholic Church herself, you are not

* Epist. 89, 7, tom. ii. 222 b.

with us. These things should you receive, what you already have will not then first be in you, but will then first profit you. We do not, therefore, as you imagine, receive people of yours, but by receiving make ours those who recede from you to be received by us; and in order that they may begin to be ours, they first cease to be yours. Nor do we constrain the workmen of the error which we detest to be joined with us, but therefore desire these men to be joined with us, that they may not be what we detest." *

In writing against the Donatist Bishop of Carthage in 400, he says: "Our God is not the God of dissension, but of peace, nor are His sacraments, in those who have receded from the Church, but the persons who have receded, His enemies. But as they have in baptism what may be given through them, so have they in ordination the right of giving; both, indeed, to their own destruction, so long as they have not the charity of unity. It is, however, one thing not to have, another thing to have unto destruction, another thing again to have unto salvation. That which people have not, must be given them when there is need that it be given; that which they have unto destruction we must endeavour, removing the destruction by correction, that they have unto salvation." †

To a Donatist Bishop, one of the seven selected afterwards in the great Conference, he writes: "But you say, why do you wish us to be joined to yourselves if we are criminals? Because you are still living men, and capable of correction, if you have the will. For when you are joined to us, that is, to the Church of God, the inheritance of Christ, whose possession are the ends of the earth, you are corrected, in order that you may have life in the root. For of boughs broken off the Apostle says, 'God is able to engraft them again.' Therefore are you changed from the party in which you dissented, although the sacraments which you possessed, being the same

* Epist. 93, 11, tom. ii. 249 c.

† Cont. Epist. Parmen. 2, 13, tom. ix. 44 d.

in all, are holy. Therefore it is that we desire you to be changed from your perversity, that is, that what you have broken off may be rooted afresh.* For the sacraments which you have not changed, as you hold them are approved by us, in order that in the desire to correct your wrong we may not do a sacrilegious injury to those mysteries of Christ, which in your depravity remained undepraved. For neither did Saul deprave that unction which he had received, and to which King David, the pious servant of God, showed such honour. And so we do not rebaptize you, because we desire to restore to you the root, yet approve the form of the lopped vine-branch, if it is not changed. And yet this, however entire, can in no way be fruitful without the root." †

That the receiving the clergy in the rank which they held as Donatists is no excusing their schism, he thus shows: "Your Bishops, or whatever clergy they may be, so far as concerns their ecclesiastical rank, have been received into Catholic unity, as seemed expedient for those for whose salvation provision was made, either by their continuing or ceasing to officiate. However, even in the case of those who have held the same rank among us as before, can you, as you said, he is a Bishop, you receive him as a Bishop, so likewise say, he is a heretic, you receive him as a heretic, or a schismatic, you receive him as a schismatic, or a Donatian, you receive him as a Donatian? For by these names it is not the grade of honour which is distinguished from a layman's rank, but the crime of error from Catholic truth. Accordingly the former, as ecclesiastical offices, being found even in those who are outside, who by leaving you and passing over to us become ours, are either received or not received as may conduce to the advantage of the population which we serve in this stewardship: but the latter, being faulty, and properly your own, are healed, corrected, changed; taking care, however, that the sacraments, without which a man cannot become a

* "Ut denuo radicetur vestra præcisio."

† Epist. 87, tom. ii. 212 b.

Christian, be so treated even in heretics that when they come to the Church, what is wanting be added; what is recognized, be approved: lest in our too great offence at the evils which they have produced against the Church, we should persecute even the goods which in departing from the Church they took with them. For in the case also of the broken bough, if, as the Apostle says, it be to be again engrafted, the root is restored to it, but its form is not changed." * Again: "For all the sacraments of Christ are possessed not unto salvation, but unto judgment, without the charity of Christ's unity." † And, "Let him understand that those who are most plainly placed outside in the manifest sacrilege of schism cannot be saved, and that all which they possess of the divine sacraments, and the liberality of the one legitimate Husband, so long as they are such, avails to their confusion rather than to their salvation." ‡

And he writes to the Donatists, after the great Conference held in the year 411: "Nor let them seem to themselves great because we grant to them in unity that rank which they possess before they are delivered: for in possessing this outside of unity, they are more to be condemned for it. Since it is more ruinous to usurpers to possess the military standards than to be without them: but when such men are corrected and brought back into the emperor's camp, the standards are not broken up or destroyed, but begin to adorn and to protect those whom before they belied and exposed to punishment." And further on: "Falsehood is convicted; the truth has dawned. Why still fly from unity? Why still despise charity? What is it to us to be divided by human names? One is the God who created us; one the Christ who redeemed us; one the Spirit who should bind us in one society." §

4. In the following passages he corroborates the doctrine

* Cont. Crescon. ii. 12, tom. ix. 415 g.
† Cont. Litt. Petiliani, iii. 40, tom. ix. 320 e.
‡ De Bapt. cont. Donat. v. 4, tom. ix. 144 f.
§ Ad Donatist. post collat. 35, tom ix. 616 c.

above set forth by specific statements that the Holy Ghost, *i.e.* sacramental grace, is not received outside of the Church's unity.

Preaching on the day of Pentecost on the miracle of the day, he says: "Their sound is gone out into all the earth, and their words unto the end of the world. For what else did the Holy Spirit foretell in the tongues of all nations, which He gave to those who had learnt only the one language of their own nation (which it was His will should be then the mark of His presence), except that all nations should believe the gospel, so that in the first instance each one of the faithful, but afterwards the unity itself of the Church, should speak with all tongues? What do they reply to this who refuse to be incorporated into and joined with the Christian society, which bears fruit and increases in all nations? Can they deny that now too the Holy Spirit comes upon Christians? Why, then, now does each person, neither among us, nor among them, speak with the tongues of all nations, which was then the mark of His advent, except that what was then signified is now fulfilled? For then a single believer spoke with all tongues, and now the unity of believers speaks with all tongues. And so even now all tongues are ours because we are members of the body in which they are. With reason, then, is it rightly understood that heretics or schismatics, though we admit them to possess the baptism of Christ, do not receive the Holy Spirit, unless when they adhere to the framework of unity through the fellowship of charity.* For then the tongues of the nations will be theirs likewise, because where these tongues are, they will be also, that is, preserving the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace in the same body of Christ which is growing everywhere. He who is not bound by this bond is a slave."†

Against the Donatist Cresconius he says: "They who outside the Church have received the Church's baptism are

* "Nisi dum compagini adhæserint unitatis per consortium charitatis."

† Serm. 269, tom. v. 1093 f.

with reason believed not to have the Holy Spirit, except when they adhere to that Church in the bond of peace by the connection of charity." And further on: "This Holy Spirit coming upon them gave originally such a sign that they who received Him spoke with the tongues of all nations, because this portended that the Church should be through all nations, and that no one should receive the Holy Spirit unless he was joined to its unity.* With the abounding and invisible stream of this fountain God makes glad His own city.—To this city, then, whoever is converted, laying aside the error of heresy or schism, correcting his conduct, and piously minded, if he already bore the sacraments, which might flow outside even upon the unworthy, these are honoured in him, because even in the stranger they are not considered strange, but he is forthwith cleansed with that fountain peculiar to the Church, of which no stranger hath part, that sealed fountain of the Holy Spirit from which among you even every one, who in the rest of his conduct is praiseworthy, is separated by the sole crime of schism or heresy. When, therefore, your people come to us, ceasing to be yours, beginning to be ours, they receive what they had not, in order that they may begin to have unto salvation what before they had with a ruin proportioned to their unworthiness. For they receive first of all the Church herself, and in her, peace, charity, unity, by its proper and invisible fountain the Holy Spirit, without which (*i.e.* the Church, peace, charity, unity) assuredly nobody doubts that they would have perished, whatever else they had possessed among you, which could be drawn from the Church outside of her. But it is with an easier pardon that they receive what they never had, than if they had had and yet deserted it. . . . For the strength which the sacrament of baptism rightly received has to purify the sacrileges of the

* "Hic Spiritus Sanctus veniens in eos tale signum primitus dedit, ut qui eum acciperent, linguis omnium gentium loquerentur; quia portendebat Ecclesiam per omnes gentes futuram, nec quemquam accepturum Spiritum Sanctum nisi qui ejus unitati copularetur."

Gentiles, that same strength has the truly apprehended charity of unity to purify the sacrileges of schismatics and heretics."*

I cite the following from the letter to Count Boniface in the year 417: "Thus the Lord Christ is both the Just One and the Justifier; but we are justified gratuitously by His grace. But He does not justify except His Body, which is the Church. . . . So we being many are one body in Christ. And by this no man can be just so long as he is separated from the unity of this Body. For as a limb cut off from the body of a living man cannot keep the spirit of life, so a man cut off from the Body of Christ the Just One can in no way keep the Spirit of justice, though he may keep the form of a member, which he received in the Body. Let them, therefore, come into the framework of this Body. . . . What then, says he, do we receive with you when we pass over to you? I answer, You do not indeed receive baptism, which might, outside the structure of Christ's Body, be in you, though it could not profit you; but you receive the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, without which no one can see God, and charity, which, as is written, covers a multitude of sins. . . . The Apostle Peter, when he denied the Saviour, both wept and remained an Apostle: he had not yet received the promised Holy Spirit; but much more they have not received Him where, divided from the framework of the Body, which Body alone the Holy Spirit vivifies, they held outside of the Church, and against the Church, the Church's sacraments, and fought as in a civil war, raising our own standards and arms against us. . . . But those, with whom and of whom we are treating, are not to be despaired of; for they are still in the body: but let them not seek the Holy Spirit save in the Body of Christ, the sacrament of which they hold outside, but the thing itself do not hold inside, of which that is the sacrament: and therefore they eat and drink judgment. For the one Bread is the sacrament of unity; since, as the Apostle says, we being many are one Bread, one Body. Moreover, the Catholic

* Cont. Crescon. ii. 12, tom. ix. 417 c, 418 b-f, 419 c.

Church alone is the Body of Christ, of which He is the Head, the Saviour of His own Body. Outside of this Body the Holy Spirit vivifies no one: because, as the Apostle says, the charity of God is diffused in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, who is given to us. But he is not partaker of divine charity who is the enemy of unity. And so they who are outside the Church have not the Holy Spirit. For of them it is written, Who separate themselves, being animal, not having the Spirit. But neither does that man receive Him, who being feigned is in the Church; since of him too is written, The Holy Spirit of discipline shall avoid him that is feigned. Whoever, therefore, will have the Holy Spirit, let him beware of remaining outside the Church; let him beware of entering into it insincerely; or, if he have so entered, let him beware of persisting in that insincerity, that he may truly adhere to the tree of life." *

And to the same effect St. Augustine thus congratulates two Donatist Presbyters "on their conversion into the unity of Christ and His peace:" † "Your approach rejoices us, but let not our absence sadden you; for we are in that Church which by the mercy of God, though it be everywhere spread out and diffused through the whole world, is yet one great Body of one great Head, while its Head is the Saviour Himself, as the Apostle says. But of the glorification of this Head, which was to ensue upon His resurrection, the prophet had long before foretold, 'Be Thou exalted above the heavens, O God;' and because, when He was exalted above the heavens, His Church was to fill the whole earth in her rich fecundity, the same Psalm added coherently, 'And Thy glory over all the earth.' Wherefore, my dearly loved, let us with assured mind and firmest heart continue under so exalted a Head in so glorious a Body, in which we are members of one another. And so, though my absence were in the remotest lands, we should be together in Him, from the unity of whose Body

* Epist. 185, tom. ii. 659 c-g, 660 c, 661 d, 663 a.
† "Ad unitatem Christi pacemque conversis."

we must not recede. For if one house held us, we should be said to be together; how much more are we together, being in one Body together! Though the Truth Himself witnesses that we are also in one house, since Holy Scripture, which calls the Church the Body of Christ, likewise calls the same Church the House of God." Then, after citing texts on the universality of the Church, he continues: "To these and such-like testimonies of this great House, so many of which are found in all the Scriptures, its enemies so far yielded as to confess that they had no cause against the Church beyond the sea, which they admitted to be Catholic. With this we communicate, in order that we may be worthy to be joined to the members of Christ, and that we may embrace with the affection of most loyal charity the Structure of His body." *

What a contrast between this Body and House of Christ, which wraps the earth in its embrace, and Dr. Pusey's "Christian bodies—unknown in face, in place separate, different in language, opposed, alas! in some things to one another, which still before the throne of God are One Holy Catholic Church;" † while the separate portions anathematize each other upon earth. It is the difference between Dr. Pusey's theology and St. Augustine's.

And once more, that the sacraments are of no avail save in the unity of the Church, because in it alone the Holy Spirit dwells, who is not divided against Himself, he thus lays down: ‡ "By this passage of Matthew ('he who says a word against the Holy Ghost') the Lord has much more plainly set forth what He wished us to understand; which is, that whoever resists with an impenitent heart the unity of the Church, where remission of sins takes place in the Holy Ghost, that man speaks a word against the Holy Ghost. For they, as we have said, are not in possession of this Spirit, who, even though they bear and use the sacraments of Christ, are disunited from

* "Huic nos communicamus, ut conjungi mereamur membris Christi, et compaginem corporis ejus fidelissimæ charitatis amplectamur affectu."—Epist. 142, tom. ii. 461 g.

† p. 57. ‡ Epist. 173, tom. ii. 614 e.

His congregation. For where He spoke of the division of Satan against Satan, and that He cast out devils in the Holy Spirit, that Spirit certainly who is not divided against Himself, as the other, He continues, lest any one should conceive that Christ's kingdom also is divided against itself, through those who gather their own conventicles in Christ's name outside of His fold, 'he who is not with Me is against Me; and he who gathers not with Me, scatters:' in order to show that those did not belong to Him who, by gathering outside, would not gather, but scatter. Then He added: Therefore I say to you, Every sin and blasphemy shall be remitted to men, but the blasphemy of the Spirit shall not be remitted. What is this? Is it that the blasphemy of the Spirit alone shall not be remitted, because he who is not with Christ is against Him, and he who gathers not with Him, scatters? Certainly. For he who gathers not with Him, in whatever way he gathers under His name, has not the Holy Spirit. Here altogether, here He compels us to understand that the remission of every sin and every blasphemy can only take place in the congregation of Christ, which does not scatter. And therefore all congregations, or rather dispersions, which call themselves Churches of Christ, and are divided and contrary to each other, and hostile to the congregation of unity, which is His true Church, do not belong to His congregation because they seem to bear His name. But they would belong to it if the Holy Spirit, in whom this congregation is bound together, were divided against Himself. But as this is not so (for he who is not with Christ is against Him, and he who gathers not with Him scatters), therefore every sin and every blasphemy shall be remitted to men in this congregation which Christ is gathering in the Holy Spirit, and that not divided against Himself. But that blasphemy of the Spirit, whereby men resist even unto the end of life with impenitent heart so great a gift of God, shall not be remitted. For even if any one were so contrary to the truth as to resist God speaking, not by the Prophets, but by His only Son, in

willing Him to be Son of Man for us, in order to speak to us in Him, this shall be remitted to him when he turns with penitence to the goodness of God, who, desiring not the death of the sinner, but that he should return and live, has given to His Church the Holy Spirit; so that whoever in Him should remit sins, they should be remitted. But whoever is an enemy to this gift, not seeking it by penitence, but resisting it impenitently, then not every sin becomes irremissible, but the despising, or even the assailing, the remission of sins itself. And therefore a word is spoken against the Holy Spirit when men never come from the dispersion to the congregation which has received the Holy Spirit for the remission of sins. . . . There is then one only escape that the blasphemy be not irremissible, that an impenitent heart be avoided; nor can penitence be considered to profit unless by holding to the Church, where remission of sins is given, and the society of the Spirit is guarded in the bond of peace." *

5. Fifthly, it is in perfect agreement with the above, that St. Augustine asserts, repeating in this the statement of St. Cyprian, that death itself incurred for the name of Christ outside of His Body's unity would profit nothing.

Thus he writes to a Donatist Presbyter: "See what follows: 'If I have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.' You are called unto this charity: by this charity you are not suffered to perish; and do you think that it would do you any good if you cast yourself into destruction" (he had tried to destroy himself, in his horror of Catholics), "when it would profit you nothing even if another were to kill you, as long as you were the enemy of unity? But placed as you are outside the Church, and separated from the framework of unity and the bond of charity, you would be punished with eternal punishment, even if you were burnt alive for the name of Christ. For this is what the Apostle says, 'Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.'" †

* Serm. 71, tom. v. 402 f.

† Epist. 173, tom. ii. 614 e.

Which he thus repeats in a letter to Macrobius; where, after saying that if St. Cyprian was wrong on any point in the sacrament of baptism, God, in return for the charity which he had shown in the preservation of unity, revealed it to him, he continues: "We must add, that that fruitful vine-branch, if he had anything which still required cleansing, was cleansed by the glorious pruning-knife of martyrdom; not because he was slain for the name of Christ, but because he was slain for the name of Christ *in the bosom of unity*. For he himself wrote, and most confidently asserts, that those who die outside of unity, even though it be for that Name, may be slain, but cannot be crowned. Of such force, whether to wipe away or to retain sins, is the maintaining or the violating the charity of unity."*

Now, the whole of the preceding doctrine runs up into one principle, and is grounded on a single point of belief; both of which I will give in St. Augustine's words. In this, however, he himself is only transmitting and enforcing the doctrine of St. Cyprian, for he is commenting on the letter of that Father to Jubaianus. The principle is this: "'Salvation,' he" (that is, St. Cyprian) "says, 'is not outside the Church.' Who says that it is? *And therefore, whatsoever things belonging to the Church are possessed, do not avail to salvation outside the Church.*"† St. Augustine considered the proposition that salvation is not outside the Church to be so universally received, that he could not find a Catholic or a Donatist to dispute it. *Quis negat?* From it he draws the conclusion running through all the preceding statements, that the sacraments do indeed communicate the divine life of Christ within the unity of His Body, to which they belong; but, likewise, that though possessed, they do not communicate that life

* Epist. 108, tom. ii. 309 c. How far there may be in certain schismatics or heretics an invincible ignorance which exempts them from the literal application of such propositions as are contained in the foregoing extracts, is a most important question, but manifestly one entirely external to the scope of this pamphlet.

† "Ideo quæcunque ipsius Ecclesiæ habentur, extra Ecclesiam non valent ad salutem."—De Bapt. cont. Donat. iv. 17, tom. ix. 136 a.

outside of that unity. And the same St. Cyprian gives him the point of belief which expresses this great truth: "This is that one, and only one, who holds and possesses all the power of her Bridegroom and her Lord." As "dowered with the Blood of Christ," to use St. Augustine's words, she, the Bride, and the Bride alone, possesses by right the sacraments, through which she applies that Blood: if others take these from her, and go out of her, they may take indeed the sacraments with them, but they take not the application of the Blood of Christ.

"Hæc est una quæ tenet et possidet omnem sui Sponsi et Domini potestatem."* This is the belief on which the Church has lived since the day of Pentecost to the present moment. This is the truth which, without exception, every Father held, and by reason of which heresy and schism were sins in their estimation so deadly. This is the truth in virtue of which every Father believed the Church to be infallible in her office of transmitting and communicating the Faith of Christ. This is the truth which Luther denied by his doctrine of justification, and which every society infected with Lutheranism abjures and derides. This is the truth which Dr. Pusey denies above, when he supposes that the one Body of Christ has been changed into "Christian bodies," which have ceased to be one in faith and in communion, and are opposed to each other in the transmission of the truth, all of them having admitted error. There is not a Father who would not consider such a statement a denial of the Christian faith itself in its root. Thus Dr. Pusey's doctrine is the most unpatristic which can be conceived, being the contradiction of that idea on which the Fathers lived. Has his mind ever received anything which corresponds to St. Augustine's oft-recurring expressions, "the framework of Christ's unity," "the unity of the faithful," "the unity of charity," "the charity of unity," "the bosom of unity," "to be grafted in the Vine," "to live on the root," "to adhere to the framework of unity by the communion of

* De Bapt. cont. Donat. iv. 1, tom. ix. 121.

the truth," "to be converted to the unity and peace of Christ," "to be jointed into the unity of the Church," "the peace of unity and charity"? or could he say with Optatus, "to remain together with the whole world in the root"?* St Augustine's expression, "we communicate with the Church beyond the sea *in order that* we may be worthy to be joined to the members of Christ, and that we may embrace the living frame of His Body with the affection of most loyal charity,"† is at once a specific condemnation of Dr. Pusey's Anglican position, and a specific contradiction of his own misconception concerning the Church.

II.

And this leads me to consider more attentively Dr. Pusey's statement in p. 61: "England is not at this moment more independent of any authority of the Bishop of Rome, than Africa was in the time of St. Augustine."

As a comment on these words I will first give St. Augustine's own expressions.

In his 43rd letter, in the year 398, he is addressing certain Donatists, and has occasion to refer to the commencement of the schism. He exposes at some length the ill conduct of Secundus, that primate of Numidia who, after the election and consecration of Cæcilianus, began the schism by the counter election and consecration of Majorinus. And then he puts into the mouth of Secundus what he ought to have done. He should have addressed the assembly of Bishops thus (St. Augustine speaks of the year 311): "You see, brethren, how, after such a destruction wrought by the persecution, peace, through the mercy of God, has been

* "Compago unitatis Christi," "unitas fidelium," "unitas charitatis," "charitas unitatis," "gremium unitatis," "inseri in vite," "de, *or* in, radice vivere," "compagini adhærere unitatis per consortium veritatis," "ad veritatem pacemque Christi converti," "compaginem corporis Christi fidelissimæ charitatis amplecti affectu," "unitati ecclesiæ copulari," "pax unitatis et charitatis," and St. Opt. "in radice cum toto orbe manere."

† Epist. 142.

granted by the princes of the world. We, who are Christians and Bishops, ought not to break asunder that Christian unity which the Pagan enemy no longer attacks. And therefore, either let us dismiss to the judgment of God all those disputed matters which the ruin of so turbulent a time has inflicted on the Church, or else, if there be any among you who have such knowledge of definite crimes committed by those men that they can easily prove them and convict the gainsayers, and if they fear to communicate with such men, let them go to our brethren and colleagues, the Bishops of the Churches beyond the sea, and there first lay a complaint respecting the acts and the contumacy of these men in refusing, through an evil conscience, to meet the judgment of their African colleagues. *The result of this would be, that they would be summoned thence to attend and to answer there what was objected to them.* And if they refuse to do this, their wrongheadedness and perversity will become known there likewise, *and a letter will be sent respecting them through the whole world, wheresoever the Church of Christ is spread, and their communion will be cut off from all Churches, in order that no error may spring up in the See of the Church of Carthage.* Then at length we can in security ordain another Bishop for the people of Carthage, when they have been separated from the whole Church, lest perchance, if another be ordained now, the Church beyond the sea will refuse him her communion, inasmuch as the former, whom fame has already announced as ordained, and caused letters of communion to be sent to him, will not appear to have been deposed; and thus the great scandal of schism in the unity of Christ would arise in times now enjoying peace, through our giving our votes precipitately; and we should venture to raise another altar, not against Cæcilianus, but against the whole world, which in ignorance communicates with him." And St. Augustine proceeds: "Had any violent person refused to follow advice so sound and right, what could he have done? or how could he have condemned any absent colleague, when he would not have in his control

the acts of the Council, in opposition to the Primate? But if so great a sedition was to arise against the Primate's authority as that some should wish to condemn persons whose judgment he wished to be deferred, how much better to separate from such unquiet and unpeaceful stirrers than from the communion of the whole world! But because there was nothing against Cæcilianus and his ordainers which could be proved to a judgment beyond the sea, for this reason they would neither defer before giving their votes against him, nor, after giving them, take persistent steps to bring it to the knowledge of the Church beyond the sea, whose communion it should avoid, as being that of traditors condemned in Africa. For had they attempted this, Cæcilianus and the rest would have been upon them, and by a most careful discussion before ecclesiastical judges beyond the sea, would have cleared their cause against their deceitful accusers." *

Here, then, St. Augustine recognizes not merely in his own time, but in the year 311, before the council of Nicæa, before that of Sardica, the supreme jurisdiction of the Church beyond the sea, that is, the Pope, in the *majores causæ;* as for instance, in case a dispute arose, who was the proper Bishop of Carthage. Only in the preceding page to this of the same letter had he made one of his world-renowned statements respecting the authority of the Roman See, which one would have thought that Dr. Pusey must have seen quoted again and again, which, at all events, I have quoted myself to him. He says this primate Secundus "ought the more to have feared lest the peace of unity should be broken, inasmuch as Carthage was a great and illustrious city, whence the evil there arising would descend as from the head through the whole body of Africa. For it was near the countries beyond the sea, and of great renown, whence it had a Bishop of assuredly no mean authority, who might disregard the conspiracy of a multitude of enemies, seeing himself to be united by letters of communion both with the Roman Church,

* Epist. iv. 3, tom. ii. 92.

in which the Principate of the Apostolic See hath ever been in force, and with the other lands whence the Gospel came to Africa itself, where he would be prepared to plead his cause if his adversaries attempted to alienate from him these Churches." *

Who, save the Pope, does Dr .Pusey suppose would issue the letter which St. Augustine mentions above," a letter will be sent respecting them through the whole world, wheresoever the Church of Christ is spread, and their communion will be cut off from all Churches, in order that no error may spring up in the See of the Church of Carthage"? Is not "the Principate of the Apostolic See," of which he had just spoken, visible enough here? visible with a power not given to it at Nicæa, not given to it at Sardica, since the date here mentioned is before both, but which always was in force—*semper viguit*—by its own inherent right, given by Christ Himself.

In another place, in his great letter on the unity of the Church, in the year 402, St. Augustine says: "The African Bishops were in conflict with each other; if they were unable to finish among themselves the dissension which had arisen, so that the factious disputers should either be reduced to concord or be degraded, and those who had the good cause should remain in the communion of the whole world by the bond of unity, there remained, undoubtedly, that the Bishops beyond the sea, where the largest part of the Church is spread, should judge respecting the dissensions of their African colleagues; at the instance, that is, of those who object to others the charge of a wrong ordination." †

Here, then, we have this supposed independence of the African Church refuted by St. Augustine. But this is not all. In the last years of his life another incident occurs, which will cast further light upon Dr. Pusey's assertion, that "England is not at this moment more independent of any authority of the Bishop of Rome, than Africa was in the time of St. Augustine."

* Tom. ii. 91. † Tom. ix. 340 a.

St. Augustine had been led to divide his diocese of Hippo, and detach from it a place called Fussala, forty miles from his own residence, where, at his instance, the Primate of Numidia had consecrated a young man named Antonius as Bishop, who had been brought up from a child in St. Augustine's monastery. Antonius, however, behaved so ill, that he had been deprived by the Bishops of the province, with the concurrence of St. Augustine, not of his rank as Bishop, but of his government of the See. He appealed to the Pope. St. Augustine feared that the Pope St. Cælestine would restore him; and his 209th letter, in the year 423, is written to the Pope to entreat him not to do so. He says: "I make known to your Holiness our circumstances, that you may help us, not only by your prayers, but by your providing for us and aiding us; for it is in a position of great trial that I have written this to your Blessedness." After narrating the facts respecting Antonius, he continues: "Most blessed Lord and holy Pope, I beseech you to have all the details sent recited to you. Consider how he has conducted his episcopate; how he craftily persuaded that holy old man, our most respected Primate, to believe all he said, and so to recommend him as quite blameless to the venerable Pope Boniface, and the rest, which I need not repeat, since the said venerable Primate has referred the whole to your Holiness." And he concludes with saying to the Pope that he thought of resigning his bishopric, should Antonius, for whose original appointment he was himself answerable, be restored, to the injury of so many souls. And his last words are: "But if you deliver the members of Christ, which are here, from their deadly fear and sorrow, and console my old age with this act of merciful justice, your good act shall have a good recompense both in this and in the future life from Him who, through you, succours me in this my sorrow, and who placed you in the great See which you hold."*

* Epist. 209, tom. ii. 777–80: "Qui te in illa sede constituit."

Now, as Dr. Pusey will have it that "England at this moment is not more independent of any authority of the Bishop of Rome than Africa was in the time of St. Augustine," let us suppose a parallel case to have happened in the Church of England a few years ago; and that the Bishop of Oxford wrote to Pope Pius IX., saying that the appointment of Dr. Hampden to the See of Hereford was a grievous burden to his conscience; that he trusted the Pope would take pity upon his sorrow; and that, if the appointment were persisted in, he should be compelled to resign his See. The Bishop of Oxford is understood, I believe, to have written a letter upon this occasion; but I never heard that it was to the Pope. Strong remonstrances were supposed to have been made against the appointment; but it was to Queen Victoria; and the result is thought to have been not quite what was desired by the remonstrant, though it did not lead to so unpleasant a consequence as the Bishop of Oxford resigning his See.

Would, then, Dr. Pusey think it natural for his diocesan so to apply to the Holy See? Will such a suggestion approve itself to the Bishop of Oxford now in the still more urgent case of Dr. Colenso? Has he thought of appealing to the Holy See to deliver his brethren and himself from one whom they prohibit to preach in their dioceses, but are obliged to acknowledge as fellow-Bishop, and in whose cause not he nor his Metropolitan, but the Queen alone in her Council, is the judge?

The Church of England is, as Dr. Pusey truly says, independent of any authority of the Bishop of Rome; it has chosen instead the authority of the Queen in Council, and he is now enjoying the fruits of that choice. But St. Augustine undoubtedly recognized in Pope Cælestine the full power to annul or ratify the sentence of the Bishops of the province upon Antonius; so did the Primate of Numidia. And this occurred just at the time that we hear the last of that case of Apiarius, which Dr. Pusey seems to suppose to tell against the authority of the Pope: yet at the utmost it would only

prove a claim on the part of the African Bishops that by the existing discipline the causes of priests should not be removed beyond the cognizance of their diocesans and the provincial synod; and a claim, moreover, to which the Pope does not seem to have yielded. At all events, the cause of a Bishop is brought before him without their protestation, and fully acquiesced in by the greatest of their body, St. Augustine, whose name is not attached to the letter quoted by Dr. Pusey at pp. 68–70, and so much relied upon by him as a denial of the Pope's supremacy.

Now we have just seen that St. Augustine, with the approval of his Primate, had divided his diocese, and made Antonius Bishop of a part of it without applying to the Pope. Might not Dr. Pusey have laid hold of this fact, in order to deny the Papal Supremacy, with as much reason as the fact of Apiarius? Yet when Antonius is deposed from the government of his See by the Council of his province, he appeals to the Pope; and St. Augustine and the Primate admit the Pope's authority as final in the matter. The original appointment of Antonius therefore only shows that the actual discipline of the time allowed a Primate and one of his Suffragans to divide the diocese of that Suffragan. So the case of Apiarius only shows that the African Bishops claimed under the actual discipline of the time that the causes of priests heard and decided in their several provinces should not be reopened at Rome; and that the Pope did not yield to their claim. There is, I believe, no doubt whatever that, though the case of Apiarius was lost by his own crime, the Pope continued to exercise the right which the Bishops deprecated. But in deprecating it they never imagined that they were denying the authority of the Roman Church, "in which the Principate of the Apostolic Chair had always been in force." They were standing on a point of discipline, which, rightly or wrongly, they thought was in their favour. It tells very much against their opinion that the much more important case of Antonius (which was what Dr. Pusey calls "the reviewing of the judicial sentences

of Bishops;" a reviewing which he denies to have been made by the Pope) was treated without question by St. Augustine as belonging to the judgment of the Holy See. He desired so ardently that the judicial sentence passed in Africa should hold good, that he mentioned to the Holy Father his intention to resign his See if it was reversed; but he never thinks of questioning the Holy Father's authority to reverse it; and he entreats him earnestly to confirm it.

Yet Dr. Pusey seems to ground his wonderful statement as to the African Church's independence of Rome mainly on this case of Apiarius. After making it, he continues: "There are only three conceivable ways in which the Bishop of one Church could interfere in the internal regulations of another. They are the confirmation of its Bishops, or of its canons or ecclesiastical laws, or the reviewing of the judicial sentences of its Bishops."

Let us enter a little more deeply into the matter, and try to get at the root of it.

St. Augustine's palmary argument against the Donatists, in that controversy which lasted all through his episcopate, was that they were in schism because they were cut off from the Body of Christ throughout the world. This Body of Christ, or the Church, he continually represents as the Vine. "Christ called Himself the Vine, and His children the Vine-branches;" "that Vine which grew and filled all lands."* "Our larger book," he says, writing to the Donatists, "is the world: in that book I read fulfilled what in the book of God I read promised. The Lord said unto Me: Thou art My Son; to-day have I begotten thee. Ask of Me, and I will give Thee nations for Thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for Thy possession. He who communicates not with this inheritance, whatever books he may hold, let him know that he is disinherited. This inheritance whosoever attacks, sufficiently shows that he is a stranger from the family of God."†

A hundred passages like this might be produced from his

* Epist. 52, tom. ii. 119 c. † Ep. 43, tom. ii. 99 f.

writings. Thus, again: "Whether Cæcilianus was ordained by men who had given up the divine writings, I know not; I did not see it, I heard it from his enemies. It is not read to me out of the law of God, or the preaching of the Prophets, or the holy psalms, or from Christ's Apostles, or from Christ's own words. But a Church spread over the whole world, with which the party of Donatus does not communicate, this the testimonies of all the Scriptures with one accordant voice proclaim."* And he proceeds to give some of them. That this Church is one; that it is universal; that it is the one inheritance of Christ; that it is the Body of Christ, and as such that it has the life of Christ; and that whoever leaves it is cut off from that life: this is the perpetual burden of his song. Thus wholly possessed with this idea, he addresses men who formed the mass of the Christian population of his country, who had orders, succession, sacraments, a Faith identical with his own, and more than four hundred Bishops, and who, possessing all this, had fallen into schism by inheritance, not by personal choice, after this manner, in a sort of song which he had taken the pains to compose, in order that it might be learned by the common people: "Would you know who speak falsely? Those who are not in unity. Long ago the cause was finished, because you stand not in peace. . . . You know what the Catholic Church is, and what it is to be cut off from the Vine; if there be any among you prudent, let them come, let them live on the root; let them save themselves from the fire before they be utterly dried up. We do not rebaptize you, because there is but one character impressed by the Faith; not because we see you are *holy*,† but that you hold the form alone. For the vine-branch cut off from the vine still has the form. But what good does the form do it, if it does not live upon the root? Come, my brethen, if you desire to be engrafted on the Vine. It is

* Epist. 185, tom. ii. 644 f.

† "Sanctos," holy: that, is made so by being the temple of the Holy Ghost, and by His sacramental indwelling.

a pain to see you thus lying lopped off from the tree. Number the Bishops from the very See of Peter, and observe the succession of every Father in that order: it is the Rock against which the proud gates of hell prevail not." *

The Vine, then, taken from our Lord's own words in the discourse held after instituting that greatest of the sacraments, through which He was to impart Himself in the unity of His mystical Body for ever,—this Vine, which St. Augustine says grew and filled all lands,—this Vine, on which he entreats the four hundred Bishops of Donatus to be engrafted, —contains in itself, as in one word, His doctrine on the unity of the Church: it is an image almost as stringent, almost as complete, as that of the Body. In fulness of doctrine, in vivid force, it perhaps only yields to that one expression. And St. Cyril of Alexandria, the great contemporary of St. Augustine, and the very embodiment of his Church's doctrine, interprets and proves one expression by the other. "Can," he says, "any right-minded person doubt that Christ is therefore the Vine, and we as vine-branches draw life out of Him and from Him into ourselves, when Paul says, We all are one Body in Christ, for being many we are one Bread: for we all partake of the one Bread? For let any one tell us the reason, and in passing indicate the power of the mystical blessing. For why does it take place in us? Does it not even corporally place Christ within us by the participation and communion of His holy flesh? I think I speak correctly; for Paul writes that the Gentiles have become concorporate and participant and fellow-heirs with Christ. But how were they made concorporate? Being honoured with the participation of the mystical blessing, they have become one Body with Him, exactly as each of the holy Apostles." †

It is clear, then, that both St. Augustine and St. Cyril mean by the Vine what the Creed means by one Holy Catholic Church. And certainly it is not a little significant when,

* Psalmus cont. part. Donati, tom. ix. 37.

† In Joann. x. tom. iv. p. 862 c.

after entreating the four hundred Donatist Bishops to become engrafted on the Vine, St. Augustine adds abruptly, "Number the Bishops from Peter's own See, and observe the succession of every Father in that order: it is the Rock against which the proud gates of hell prevail not." But it is not this on which I wish to remark here; but another point. St. Cyprian, the great defender of episcopal rights in the ancient Church on the one hand, and of the Primacy of St. Peter on the other, says of the Church's government, in words which have become proverbial, "The Episcopate is one, of which a part is held by each without division of the whole." * The Episcopate is one indivisible power, exercised in unity, but only in unity. Here, then, is the meaning of the Vine again expressed, the one living Tree, which is Christ Himself; for the Head and the Body are one Person. The Episcopate cannot be detached in the case of single Bishops from the whole mass, and so exercised; for then it would not be held "in solidum," but with division; and would be a principle, not of unity, but of multiplication first, and anarchy ensuing. A Bishop so detached would be complete so far as the "forma" goes, because the vine-branch lopped from the vine has the form, but the form only. Such were all the Donatist Bishops in St. Augustine's eyes, who is exactly carrying out and illustrating the principle of St. Cyprian. This unity of the Episcopate was, somewhat later than St. Augustine, likened to the unity of the Divine nature in the Persons of the Godhead. Pope Symmachus, in 500, says, "After the manner of the Trinity, whose power is one and indivisible, there is one Episcopate in diverse prelates." † As, therefore, the unity of the Godhead does not admit division of power, so neither the unity of the Church in its Episcopate. The unity is the life in the one case as in the other; and so the life coextensive with the unity.

And this is what St. Cyprian proceeds to say; for in this

* "Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur."

† Mansi, Concilia, viii. 208 b.

very passage he is illustrating what he calls the "sacrament of unity." And after quoting St. Paul's words, "there is one Body and one Spirit," he goes on: "And this unity we are bound firmly to maintain and vindicate, especially we that are Bishops, who have the chief place in the Church, that we may approve the Episcopate itself likewise to be one and indivisible. Let no one deceive the brotherhood by a falsehood; let no one corrupt the truth of the faith by perfidiously wresting it aside. The Episcopate is one, of which a part is held by each without division of the whole. The Church also is one, which as it grows in its fruitfulness spreads into a greater and greater multitude,—as there are many branches in a tree, but one strength founded on the root holding it together. Break a branch from the tree; after it is broken it cannot bud. So, too, the Church of the Lord spreads its boughs over the whole earth in its bounteous richness. But still the head is one. and the source one, and the mother one, rich in her successive fecundity." *

St. Cyprian, then, puts on the Episcopate this absolute condition, that it must be exercised in the unity of the Body —that it must live on the sap of the tree, which is the Vine; which St. Augustine carries out by declaring that the four hundred Donatist Bishops, in possession of all the sacraments, are not *in the Vine;* as St. Cyril says of lopped branches, "We shall be given to the fire, losing besides that life-giving sap which once we had from the Vine, that is, the Spirit." † In all this St. Augustine, St. Cyprian, St. Cyril, are exactly the same in their doctrine of unity and of the sacraments, and in their illustration of the Vine and their identification of it with the one Body of Christ.

I now go on to a third point. The great Council of Chalcedon, held by Dr. Pusey himself to be ecumenical, addresses Pope Leo thus. It is describing the conduct of Dioscorus, the successor of St. Cyril and St. Anathasius in the See of Alexandria, the second in rank, and coming next

* De Unitate Ecclesiæ, 4. † p. 867.

after the Pope himself, in the whole Church: "Like a savage wild beast he burst upon the Vine, and tore up the best plant he could find; and another which was fruitless and cast aside he brought in; and those who were devoted to the shepherd he cut off, but the declared wolves he put over the sheep; and, besides all this, he extended his madness against your Holiness, the very person entrusted by the Saviour with the Guardianship of the Vine, and meditated to cut off from communion you, whose anxiety is to preserve in unity the body of the Church." *

The good branch he had torn up was Flavian, Archbishop of Constantinople; the fruitless cast-off branch which he had brought in was the heretic Eutyches; the doer of this is the holder of the second See in the Church; but the one intrusted by the Saviour with the guardianship of the Vine is only the Pope. This is written twenty years after St. Augustine's death, by a Synod of Eastern Bishops, in whose ears St. Cyril's doctrine was sounding; and thus by the former's favourite image of the Church in arguing against the schism of the Donatists an Ecumenical Council expresses the Pope's proper function in the Church. He is intrusted with the guardianship of the Vine, and that by the Saviour Himself. An Ecumenical Council states that it is not by the gift or concession of any Council, but by the gift of the Lord to Peter, whose charge is continued on in his successors. The exact Papal idea, the exact function of the Primacy, the exact power of the spiritual Monarchy, is thus spontaneously ascribed to the Bishop of Rome by a Council of Eastern Prelates,—that part of the Church which is supposed to have been most jealous of St. Peter's See; by a Council which the Anglican Church still holds to be ecumenical. A thousand years later, the Council of Florence declares "that the Roman Pontiff himself is successor of blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, and true Vicar of Christ, and Head of the whole Church, and is Father and Doctor of all Christians; and to him, in the

* Mansi, vi. 149.

person of blessed Peter, full power was delivered by our Lord Jesus Christ to feed, to rule, and to govern the universal Church, as is also contained in the acts of Ecumenical Councils and in the sacred Canons." Now this decree, though more explicit and detailed, does not go beyond the meaning of the simpler words, "the very person intrusted by the Saviour with the Guardianship of the Vine."

Put St. Cyprian's doctrine as to the unity of the Episcopate under the figure of the tree, St. Augustine's expression of the Church's unity under the name of the Vine, St. Cyril's doctrine as to the Vine being Christ Himself in the unity of the mystical Body, conveying the sap of the tree, that is, the Holy Ghost, to its branches, and the Council's application of the same word together, and there results a somewhat deeper view of the Church's constitution than that proposed by Dr. Pusey. He evidently has not contemplated at all that guardianship of the Vine attributed by what he deems an Ecumenical Council to one whom he terms a Bishop of one Church, whose action is "interfering in the internal regulations of another." That office, created by our Lord Himself, and devolved from His own person upon St. Peter, and continued on for ever in his successors, "the Guardianship of the Vine," which engenders "the zeal to keep in unity the Body of the Church,"—this it is which no Council gave, not Nicæa, not Sardica, but which Chalcedon recognized as given by our Lord Himself; this is what the African Bishops thought not of declining, when they maintained, as they conceived, an existing point of discipline; this is what St. Augustine noted as "the Principate of the Apostolic Chair *which had ever been in force*" (in which latter words lies an equivalent to that of the Council, *intrusted by the Saviour*); this is what he pointed the Donatists to, when he described them as "Vine-branches lying lopped off upon the ground;" this is that power of the Chief Bishop in and by virtue of which "the Episcopate is one, a part of which is held by each without division of the whole;" for they live upon the root, and are part of the tree.

Without the force of doctrine contained in St. Augustine's expression of the Vine his whole argument against the Donatists would have dropped to the ground; and scarcely more than twenty years after his death, a General Council states expressly that the Pope is the Guardian of this Vine, and not only so, but that this is our Lord's inalienable gift. And they make this declaration of their own accord to the very Pontiff who described his own office thus: "The care which we in virtue of our headship by Divine institution owe to all Churches;" * "for the framework of our unity cannot remain firm unless the bond of charity weld us into an inseparable whole." † Thus does the very Pope, who seems to have been sent to Carthage as the bearer of a letter in St. Augustine's time,‡ use exactly St. Augustine's language to express the cohesion of the Episcopate: "Because as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office, so we being many are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another. It is the jointing together of the body which makes one soundness and one beauty in it; and this jointing together, as it requires unanimity in the whole body, so especially demands one mind and heart in Bishops. For though these have a like dignity, yet have they not an equal jurisdiction, since even among the most blessed Apostles, as there was a likeness of honour, so there was a

* "Curam quam universis Ecclesiis *principaliter* ex divina institutione debemus" (Ep. xiv.). Compare St. Cyprian, Epis. 55: Ad Petri cathedram atque ad *ecclesiam principalem*, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est. St. Aug.: "Romanæ Ecclesiæ, in qua semper apostolicæ cathedræ viguit *principatus*" (Ep. 43). St. Irenæ. iii. 3: "Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam propter *potiorem principalitatem* necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam:" and the same Father uses the same word of our Lord's own primacy and headship (iii. 16, 6): "Uti sicut in supercœlestibus et spiritalibus et invisibilibus princeps est Verbum Dei, sic in visibilibus et corporalibus principatum habeat, in semetipsum primatum assumens, et apponens semetipsum caput Ecclesiæ, universa attrahat ad semetipsum apto in tempore." So again, "Over the army," said a Roman Emperor, "I am Imperator, in my household Dominus, in Rome Princeps." The word "principatus" would bear to a Roman of the empire as definite a meaning as "royalty" in English.

† "Nec enim poterit unitatis nostræ firma esse compago, nisi nos ad inseparabilem soliditatem vinculum caritatis adstrinxerit."

‡ See Epist. 191, p. 709.

certain distinction of power, and the election of all being equal, pre-eminence over the rest was given to one. From which type the distinction between Bishops also has arisen, and it was provided by a great ordering that all should not claim to themselves power over all, but that in every province there should be one whose sentence should be considered the first among his brethren; and others again, seated in the greater cities, should undertake a larger care, through whom the direction of the universal Church should converge to the one See of Peter, and nothing anywhere disagree from its head." *

Thus was the Guardianship of the Vine intrusted by the Saviour, according to the expression of the Fourth Council, explained by that very Pope to whom it was applied. But it would seem that Dr. Pusey's mind so little apprehends the greatness of the function recognized by the Council and delineated by the Pontiff, that he does not get beyond the notion "of the Bishop of one Church interfering in the internal regulations of another." In the mind of the Council, of St. Augustine, of St. Leo, of St. Cyril, of St. Cyprian, the Church is "unitatis nostræ firma compago;" in Dr. Pusey's mind there is instead "Christian bodies," retaining the sacraments, that is, some two, and some seven, but "unknown in face, in place separate, different in language, opposed in some things one to another;" the Bishops of the part to which he belongs holding their sees on the tenure of rejecting the authority of him to whom the Guardianship of the Vine is committed, and of receiving from a temporal Sovereign their spiritual jurisdiction, instead of from the successor of Peter; so that the very words applied by the Council to the heretic Dioscorus exactly express their condition, viz. that they are bent on rejecting the communion of him whose zeal is to hold in unity the Body of the Church.†

But we have not expressed the full force of this language as used by the Council to the Pope. "He turned his mad-

* St. Leo, Ep. 14.

† καὶ ἀκοινωνησίαν κατὰ τοῦ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἑνοῦν σπουδάσαντος ἐμελέτησε.

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ness," it says, "against your Holiness, the very person intrusted by the Saviour with the Guardianship of the Vine." But *how* was Pope Leo instructed *by the Saviour* with this Guardianship? He was—taking the list of Pontiffs given by St. Augustine in his 53rd letter, down to Anastasius, and continuing it on to this time—the 45th Pope. He became Pope rather more than four hundred years after the Ascension. Had anything unusual taken place in his instance, with reference to which it could be said that Christ Himself had intrusted him with the Vine? Nothing; he was simply the legitimate Pope. The Council, as we have seen, called the good and murdered Archbishop of Constantinople, Flavian, a plant of the Vine, torn up by that wild beast the heretical Patriarch of Alexandria; but of Leo it is said that our Lord had made him the Guardian of the Vine. In these words, then, it recognizes not only St. Leo, but the whole line of Roman Pontiffs down to his time as "Guardians of the Vine." It puts the stamp of an Ecumenical Council upon the fact that Peter was first appointed by our Lord Guardian of the Vine, and that every Roman Pontiff succeeding him was so appointed by our Lord. In no other way was St. Leo appointed by the Saviour the Guardian of the Vine but this. The Council attests with all the force of the four hundred years which had then elapsed a fact which it did not make; attests by the mouth of the 520 Eastern Prelates assembled under the presidency of St. Leo's Legates, who are the only Westerns present, all which the Roman Pontiffs have ever claimed; and not only so, but attests all which they have ever claimed as being a charge imposed upon them by Christ, not conferred by Councils, not even by the Church, but bestowed by the Head, recognized by the Body. And now in this year 1866, the Catholic Church asks no more of those who would become her children than that they should recognize in the 257th successor of St. Peter what the Fourth Council recognized in his 44th, "the Guardianship of the Vine, intrusted by the Saviour." No more than this, and no less than this.

And not only does the Council of Chalcedon, in the same letter to the Pope, entitle him "the Guardian of the Vine," but likewise declares that the Bishops forming the Council were his children, and he their Father; they the members, and he the Head presiding over the members. They accumulate upon St. Leo's person the characters of Father of the Bishops assembled in general council, and Head of the Church as represented in that Body, and Guardian of the Vine, which is that Body grown into all lands. They identify the Vine with the Body as St. Cyril, St. Augustine, and St. Cyprian; and they make the Pope Guardian of the one and Head of the other, and Father of all Christians. Now, Dr. Pusey claims especially to follow the ancient Church—undivided, as he terms it. Is it not, then, a just claim which we make upon him, that he should respect and acknowledge the great function here spontaneously recognized by a Council deemed ecumenical in his communion, as belonging *by Divine institution* to St. Peter's successor? How is it that these expressions of the Council, so unambiguous and decisive, do not interpret for him every difficulty arising out of the earlier discipline of the first centuries, or the pressure of persecution obscuring the manifestation of the Church's unity, or the self-will of individual Prelates, or the want of full knowledge in details? I understand that this witness may count for little with those who do not acknowledge authority to reside either in Ecumenical Councils or an "undivided" Church; but what can possibly be decisive to Dr. Pusey's mind, if this is not? In St. Augustine's time, he avers, the African Church was as independent of any authority of the See of Rome as the Anglican Church now is; and I reply to him, here is not the African Church merely, but the whole Church recognizing in the person of a Pontiff mentioned in St. Augustine's letters all those prerogatives, couched in the most simple and decisive terms, which we claim for him now after the lapse of fourteen hundred years. Either give up the Council of Chalcedon, or admit that the Pope is by Divine institution Guardian of the

Vine. Does Dr. Pusey claim to take it when he is proving the doctrine of the Lord's Incarnation, and to reject it when he is denying the charge laid upon St. Peter's successor by that Lord incarnate Himself?

The Guardianship of the Vine is the maintenance of what St. Augustine calls the "unity of Christ," because it is the unity of His Body, in faith and in communion. And this the African Bishops of his time fully acknowledged as intrusted to the Pope, and have left imperishable records of their acknowledgment, which it would be a marvel if Dr. Pusey does not know, and is an enigma why he chooses to ignore. St. Augustine had to fight not only with the schism of the Donatists, rooted in three generations, and all the force of temporal interests and worldly affections, but with the heresy of Pelagius, the denier of Divine grace. Now he, the Doctor of Grace, not only laboured with his mind and pen and voice in this matter, but took part in Councils; and these Councils passed decrees censuring Pelagius, which they sent to the Pope, Innocent I., for his approval. The 175th letter of St. Augustine is from the Council of Carthage to the Pope; the 176th is from the Council of Milevis to the same; the 177th is from Aurelius of Carthage, Augustine, his friend Alypius, and two other Bishops, to the same,—all composed by St. Augustine. It is with regret that I find myself compelled to answer a statement of Dr. Pusey from a book sent to him more than fifteen years ago; but as it contains facts which are the exact denial of his affirmation, I am obliged to do so.

"We will turn to another controversy—one of the most subtle which has ever distressed the Church—one which harassed St. Augustine for many a year. Whither, after all his labours, writings, and prayers, in the Pelagian controversy, did he turn for its final solution? To St. Peter's Chair. Two African Councils had condemned Pelagius, and their decrees, drawn up by St. Augustine, were sent for approval to Pope Innocent I., together with another letter from St. Augustine himself and some friends, in which he says: 'We do not pour

back our *streamlet* for the purpose of increasing your great *fountain*, but in this, not however a slight temptation of the time (whence may He deliver us, to whom we cry, Lead us not into temptation!), we wish it to be decided by you *whether our stream, however small, flows forth from that same head of rivers whence comes your own abundance;* and by your answers to be consoled respecting our common participation of one grace.'*

"In reply, A.D. 416, St. Innocent praises the Council of Carthage, that 'in inquiring concerning these matters, which it behoves to be treated with all care by Bishops, and especially by a true, just, and Catholic Council, observing the precedents of ancient tradition, and mindful of ecclesiastical discipline, you have confirmed the strength of our religion not less now in consulting us, than by sound reason before you pronounced sentence, inasmuch as you approved of reference being made to our judgment, knowing what is due to the Apostolic See, since all we who are placed in this position desire to follow the Apostle himself, *from whom the very Episcopate, and all the authority of this title sprung.* Following whom we know as well how to condemn the evil as to approve the good. And this too, that, guarding, according to the duty of Bishops, the institutions of the Fathers, ye resolve that these regulations should not be trodden under foot, which they, *in pursuance of no human but a Divine sentence, have decreed, viz. that whatever was being carried on, although in the most distant and remote provinces, should not be terminated before it was brought to the knowledge of this see; by the full authority of which the just sentence should be confirmed, and that thence all other Churches might derive what they should order, whom they should absolve, whom, as being bemired with ineffaceable pollution, the stream that is worthy only of pure bodies should avoid; so that from their parent source all waters should flow, and through the different regions of the whole world the pure streams of the fountain well forth uncorrupted.*" †

* Epist. 177. † Coustant. Ep. Rom. Pontiff. 868.

"Here we have St. Innocent affirming,—1. that questions respecting the Faith had always been referred to the judgment of the Holy See; 2. that this tradition rested on Scripture, that is, on the prerogatives granted by our Saviour to St. Peter; 3. that decisions emanating from the Holy See were not liable to any error, 'that the pure streams of the fountain should well forth uncorrupted;' 4. that all the Churches of the world had ever been bound to conform to them, 'that thence all other Churches might derive what they should order,' etc. *

"To the Council of Numidia St. Innocent says, 'Therefore do ye diligently and becomingly consult the secrets of the Apostolical honour (that honour, I mean, on which, beside those things that are without, the care of all the Churches attends) as to what judgment is to be passed on doubtful matters, following, in sooth, the prescription of the ancient rule, which you know, as well as I, has ever been preserved in the whole world. But this I pass by, for I am sure your prudence is aware of it: for how could you by your actions have confirmed this, save as knowing that throughout all provinces answers are ever emanating as from the Apostolic fountain to inquirers? Especially so often as a matter of Faith is under discussion, I conceive that all our brethren and fellow-Bishops can only refer to Peter, that is, *the source of their own name and honour*, just as your affection hath now referred, for what may benefit all Churches in common throughout the whole world. For the inventors of evils must necessarily become more cautious, when they see that at the reference of a double synod they have been severed from ecclesiastical Communion by our sentence. Therefore your charity will enjoy a double advantage; for you will have at once the satisfaction of having observed the canons, and the whole world will have the use of what you have gained: for who among Catholics will choose any longer to hold discourse with the adversaries of Christ?'

"Here we may observe, besides what was said above,—1.

* Petit Didier, in loc.

that nothing concerning Faith was held for decided, before it was carried to the See of St. Peter, and had received the Pope's sentence; 2. that before his sentence the determination of particular Councils only held good provisionally,—'what judgment is to be passed on doubtful matters;' 3. that such determination only had the force of a consultation or relation as to a difficulty, made to the Pope before his own sentence, —'at the relation,' he says, 'of a double synod;' 4. that the Pope's sentence, by which he confirmed Councils, was a final judgment, excluding the condemned from the Church's Communion, 'when they see that they have been severed from Ecclesiastical Communion by our sentence;' 5. that Bishops, as well as the faithful in general, always submitted themselves to such a decree. 'Who among Catholics will choose any longer to hold discourse with the adversaries of Christ?' *

"St. Innocent III. could have said no more about the powers of his see; what does St. Augustine observe upon it?

"'He answered to all as was right, and as it became the Prelate of the Apostolic See.' † And as to the effect of his answer, there are famous words of St. Augustine, which have passed into a proverb: 'Already two Councils on this matter have been sent to the Apostolic See; replies from whence have also been received. *The cause is terminated;* would that the error may presently terminate likewise!' ‡

"We need no more to tell us what St. Augustine meant by that 'Headship, which,' he says, 'had ever flourished in the Apostolic See.' § It involves, we see, the necessity that all other Churches should agree in Faith with it, as having deposited in itself the root of the Apostolic confession, concerning the two natures of our Lord, to which the promise was given by our Lord, that the Church should be built upon it. St. Augustine and St. Innocent express the one true Faith under St. Cyprian's image of the fountain, who in the same most remarkable passage where he sets forth the 'one Episco-

* Petit Didier, in loc. † Epist. 186.
‡ Tom. v. 645. § Ep. 43.

pate, of which each holds a part without division of the whole,' says, 'as from one fountain numberless rivers flow, widely as their number may be diffused in broad abundance, yet unity is preserved in the source;—one still is the head, and the origin one.'

"The power, therefore, which was to maintain unity of faith and of communion does so, and can only do so, by having, both in matters concerning faith and in those concerning communion, a coactive jurisdiction, universal, immediate, and supreme. And in the fifth century this power is seen in undisputed operation, referring back to our Lord's institution as its source, and to all preceding ages of the Church for its exercise, and no one charges it with usurpation:" * so far from it, the Fourth Ecumenical Council recognizes it as a charge imposed on the Pope by Christ.

Now, to sum up the whole point raised by Dr. Pusey's assertion of a parallel between the independence of the Anglican Church now, and of the African Church in St. Augustine's time, upon "any authority of the Bishop of Rome."

In the Anglican Church a specific repudiation of "the Guardianship of the Vine," as committed to the successor of St. Peter, makes that bond of the civil supremacy by which that community was originally formed, has been held together through three centuries, and while it is made up of parties in absolute contradiction to each other as to the Christian faith itself, is held together now, both as a political institution and a religious community. By this repudiation the unity of the Church, as the one bridal chamber of Christ, the one household of faith, is expressly denied, the successor of St. Peter being termed a *foreign* Prelate; and this denial that he has any "spiritual jurisdiction, power, or pre-eminence" in the Anglican Church is the tenure by which every minister of hers, from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the youngest deacon, holds rank within her; and the spiritual jurisdiction, power, or pre-eminence, so denied to St. Peter's successor, is

* See of St. Peter, 1st edit. 1850, pp. 60–4.

assigned to the civil sovereign; and the religious community thus created and maintained does not communicate with the "Church spread through the whole world." *

In the African Church of St. Augustine's time the specific proof alleged by him that the Catholics were right and the Donatists wrong is, that the Catholics were joined by letters of communion with the Roman Church, in which the Principate of the Apostolic Chair had always been in force, and with the other lands whence the Gospel came to Africa; † while the Donatists were cut off from this communion, and therefore "not in the Vine."

Thus the specific bond of Anglicanism is in St. Augustine's mouth the specific condemnation of Donatism, except, indeed, that this statement is not fair to the Donatists, who were, it is true, as a matter of fact separated from unity, but had not made repudiation of the Principate of the Apostolic See the very ground of their separation.

More particularly. The question of divine grace is raised in the African Church by Pelagius: two Councils are held concerning it. Their acts are in the most deferential manner referred to the Roman Pontiff; his answer confirming them is received; and then at length St. Augustine cries, "The cause is terminated!"

The question of the grace of the sacrament of Baptism is raised in the Anglican Church. It is carried by appeal from the court of the Archbishop to the court of the supreme judge, the Sovereign in her Council. The decision of the inferior court is reversed, and the supreme judge orders the Archbishop to induct the Presbyter who has denied the grace of the sacrament into his benefice in the diocese of a Suffragan Prelate, who considers the Presbyter intruded to be a heretic, but submits to accept him as such in the cure of souls. A lay judge in a lay court performs this act of spiritual authority, and determines the question of the grace of the sacrament in the Anglican community, without reference to the "Church

* St. Aug. ii. 644 f. † Ibid. ii. 91 e.

diffused through the whole world;" the authority of which, indeed, that judge has taken an oath * to deny.

Again, question is raised in the Anglican Church whether Dr. Colenso, a Bishop in its communion, is rightly deposed by his Metropolitan. The deposed Bishop appeals to the supreme judge in her court of the Privy Council. The judge so appealed to decides that the spiritual jurisdiction which the judge herself had given to the Metropolitan deposing is null and void; that the episcopal jurisdiction of the Bishop deposed is equally null and void, as given by the same judge illegally; that neither Metropolitan nor Bishop have jurisdiction at all. And in this *lay* judgment the two Anglican Primates and the first Bishop sit as assessors, but without power. And the whole question is terminated without reference to the "Church diffused through the whole world."

And question is raised in the African Church, who is the true Bishop of Carthage,—Cæcilianus or Majorinus; and if the African Bishops disagreed among themselves, it remained, says St. Augustine, that the Bishops beyond the sea, where the greatest part of the Catholic Church was spread, and where the Principate of the Apostolic Chair had ever been in force, should decide upon the dissension of their African colleagues.† Because this was not done, a schism arose; and a hundred years afterwards St. Augustine declares that the four hundred Bishops descending from that schism, and not in communion with the rest of the Church and the Apostolic See, are outside "of the Vine," branches lopped off from "the tree of life," the unity of Christ; while we, he says, "communicate with the Church beyond the sea, in order that we may be worthy to be joined with the members of Christ." ‡

Now, what all Catholics believe equally, what is part and parcel of the Catholic Faith, what no one can become a Catholic without receiving, is, that this Guardianship of the Vine has been from the beginning intrusted to St. Peter and

* The Coronation Oath.

† See St. Aug. 9, 340 a, and 2, 91 e.

‡ St. Aug. 2, 462 g.

his successors by our Lord Himself, as the Fourth Council asserts. But further, the right or the wrong appreciation of a great number of facts in the ancient history of the Church, and particularly in the first three centuries, depends on the mind having received or not having received into it this truth and made it its own. The reason why these facts are a stumbling-block to many who think themselves not only students, but fair judges and accurate representatives, of Christian antiquity, is that, so far from having received this truth into their minds, the rejection of it as a usurpation is a first principle with them. Proceeding from this rejection as a basis, which, if even unacknowledged, is firmly fixed within them, they see, in the case of Apiarius; in the resistance of St. Cyprian and Firmilian to a particular exercise of the Pope's authority; in the resistance of Polycrates of Ephesus to another such exercise; in the occasional vehemence and general tenacity with which particular Churches maintained what they conceived to be points of the actual discipline of the Church, such, for instance, as that a Priest, cut off from Communion in a local Church, should not be restored to communion at Rome;—in these and such-like cases, minds so prejudiced see a confirmation of their own expressed or latent first principle, that the Papal authority is a usurpation; or that it was the growth of circumstances, admitted reluctantly and at length acquiesced in. But in how different a light will these same facts appear to a mind proceeding from the basis of the Fourth Ecumenical Council! Grant that its statement is the expression of the voice of the first four centuries, and he who believes in the Church having been once "undivided" must either grant this or deny his own principle; must assert an "undivided" Church, when it suits him, as against Dissenters, and repudiate it, when it irks him, as against Catholics; but grant once this recognition of the Council, and then what witness the facts of history bear to it! One whom Dr. Pusey deservedly respects and loves told him more than twenty years ago that "the ante-Nicene testimonies which

may be cited in behalf of the authority of the Holy See need not fear a comparison" with those same ante-Nicene testimonies in behalf of a doctrine which Dr. Pusey fully holds, the Real Presence. But let us put, as the interpreter of these same testimonies, not a comparison between their relative value and that of testimonies to another doctrine, but the declaration of an Ecumenical Council of the "undivided" Church. Take as a light by which the facts of history are to be read the statement of the Church in 451, that the Guardianship of the Vine has been intrusted by our Lord Himself to St. Peter and to his successors, Bishops of Rome. And now hear the voice which Dr. Pusey alone among Catholic things would seem to respect, and which at least we are happy in loving and respecting with him, and consider these ante-Nicene testimonies in behalf of the Holy See which it sums up: "Faint they may be one by one, but at least they are various, and are drawn from many times and countries, and thereby serve to illustrate each other and form a body of proof. Thus St. Clement, in the name of the Church of Rome, writes a letter to the Corinthians when they were without a Bishop; St. Ignatius of Antioch addresses the Roman Church, and it only out of the Churches to which he has written, as 'the Church which has the first seat in the place of the country of the Romans;' St. Polycarp of Smyrna betakes himself to the Bishop of Rome on the question of Easter; the heretic Marcion, excommunicated in Pontus, betakes himself to Rome; Soter, Bishop of Rome, sends alms, according to the custom of his Church, to the Churches throughout the Empire, and, in the words of Eusebius, 'affectionately exhorted those who came to him, as a father his children;' the Montanists from Phrygia came to Rome to gain the countenance of its Bishop; Praxeas from Africa attempts the like, and for a while is successful; St. Victor, Bishop of Rome, threatens to excommunicate the Asian Churches; St. Irenæus speaks of Rome as 'the greatest Church, the most ancient, the most conspicuous, and founded

and established by Peter and Paul,' appeals to its tradition, not in contrast, indeed, but in preference to that of other Churches, and declares that 'in this Church every Church, that is, the faithful from every side, must meet' or 'agree together, *propter potiorem principalitatem.*' 'O Church, happy in its position,' says Tertullian, 'into which the Apostles poured out, together with their blood, their whole doctrine!' The Presbyters of St. Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, complain of his doctrine to St. Dionysius of Rome; the latter expostulates with him, and he explains. The Emperor Aurelian leaves 'to the Bishops of Italy and of Rome' the decision whether or not Paul of Samosata shall be dispossessed of the see-house at Antioch; St. Cyprian speaks of Rome as 'the See of Peter and the principal Church, whence the unity of the priesthood took its rise—whose faith has been commended by the Apostles, to whom faithlessness can have no access;' St. Stephen refuses to receive St. Cyprian's deputation, and separates himself from various Churches of the East; Fortunatus and Felix, deposed by St. Cyprian, have recourse to Rome; Basilides, deposed in Spain, betakes himself to Rome, and gains the ear of St. Stephen." *

Apply the key of the Fourth Council's statement to these facts, and we have very sufficient testimony from history even in the first three centuries, with all the incompleteness of documents, and hence of our knowledge, to the Pope's authority. The Guardianship of the Vine, from the beginning intrusted to St. Peter and his successors by our Lord, was compatible with very various discipline as to the distribution of power throughout the one Body. The Bishops during that long period when the Christian Faith was never a religion allowed by the Roman Empire, and was often persecuted by it, may have had a greater derivation of the power of government,—arising, as we believe, originally from the ordering of St. Peter at the head of the Apostolic College,—than was good for the Church when persecution had ceased, or than

* Newman on Development, p. 22.

was compatible with her acting openly and manifestly as one organization throughout the world, or, again, with her increased extent. Material magnitude of itself would enter into calculation here: the greater the centrifugal force arising from extension, the greater must be the centripetal, to maintain unity. The headship of St. Peter, among twelve Apostles and the Elders of an infant Church, will naturally be less conspicuous than the headship of his successor over a thousand Bishops and two hundred millions of faithful. "Crescit occulto velut arbor ævo"* is at once the Church's motto and the Pope's. The larger the tree the stouter the trunk to support it; the greater and more solid the sphere, the more intense the gravitation to its centre. And I believe these considerations are the clue to all difficulties as to the Papal authority arising out of the conduct of Bishops in those times.

But inasmuch as the case of Apiarius seems to be Dr. Pusey's sheet-anchor, let us enter into it fully and frankly.

Now, after the ground which we have just gone over, it is obvious that three things must be premised in considering this case.

The first of these is, that St. Augustine himself, to whom Dr. Pusey appeals—speaking of the year 311, which is antecedent to the Councils both of Sardica and Nicæa, and which is the very year in which the great Diocletian persecution terminated; so that the constitution of the Church which is referred to is that of the Church of the Martyrs—says of the Bishop of Carthage that he could afford to disregard the conspiracy of a multitude of enemies, seeing himself to be united by letters of communion, not only with the other lands whence the Gospel came to Africa itself, but with the Roman Church, in which the Principate of the Apostolic See had ever been in force.† Will, then, Dr. Pusey accept, or will he reject, this clear, decisive, emphatic testimony of the greatest Western Father—a testimony placed by him in ante-Nicene

* Quoted by De Maistre of the Papal authority. † Tom. ii. 91.

times, to the Principate of the Apostolic Chair of Rome as existing from the beginning; for, let him mark well, it is that, and no less—"qui semper viguit"? If he accept it, well and good; if he reject it, let him never venture to quote St. Augustine as an authority again. But St. Augustine, however great, is but an individual. Let us go on to an authority contemporary with St. Augustine,—for they who gave expression to it were men of middle years at the time of St. Augustine's death,—an authority expressly recognized as infallible by Dr. Pusey—the Fourth Ecumenical Council. This Council, then, more than corroborates St. Augustine's statement; for it declares, addressing the Pope himself, that the Guardianship of the Vine, which is the Body of Christ in all lands, was intrusted to the Pope by the Saviour. Again, I ask, does Dr. Pusey accept, or does he reject, this statement? If he accept it, well and good; if he reject it, let him cease henceforth to appeal to ancient Councils, for the appeal would be in his mouth an unmeaning inconsistency. But this I would put to him in favour of his acceptance. When he reads the ante-Nicene Fathers, he may find in them concerning the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Blessed Trinity statements which occasionally may be confused and indeterminate. Notwithstanding, he believes these two doctrines upon the authority of the undivided Church; and specially he believes the true doctrine of the Incarnation as expounded by Pope St. Leo to this very Council of Chalcedon, and as accepted by that Council. All that can be cited out of the preceding four centuries against these two doctrines as ultimately defined goes for nothing to his mind, and most rightly; because his belief in the authority of the "undivided" Church covers the whole ground, and makes the basis of his confidence impregnable. Now I ask, on what principle should he not accept this doctrine of the Council as to the Guardianship of the Vine, expressed moreover by the Council to the Pope as both undisputed and indisputable? To all of us who are Catholics these three doctrines of the Blessed Trinity, of the Incarnation,

of the Principate of the Apostolic Chair of Rome by divine institution,—that is, the Guardianship of the Vine intrusted by the Saviour,—stand upon one and the same foundation—the authority of the Church; stand together. I do not say, stand or fall together, because they can no more fall than God can fall. But does Dr. Pusey attempt to sever the two former from the third, and then call himself a disciple of the "undivided" Church?

This, then, is the first point.

The second is this. The African Bishops who so wrote about Apiarius, and St. Augustine—who is their voice and, as it were, their soul—in exact accordance with a belief in the first point, when matters arose which concern the Christian Faith,—such as the doctrine of grace, attacked by Pelagius,—refer, as we have just seen, their Councils for confirmation to the Apostolic See; and they do so in terms of the utmost deference. They accept in answer the most unqualified statements from the Pope as to his own supreme authority in matters of faith; and the Pope St. Innocent uses, as Dr. Pusey will no doubt remark, the image of water in St. Augustine's sense, and not in his. The transmission of the one Faith of Christ in all times is represented by St. Innocent not as a fountain, parted into four heads after leaving Paradise, in order to bless Mesopotamia and Egypt, but the Roman See is "the parent source, whence all waters should flow; and through the different regions of the whole world the pure streams of the fountain should well forth uncorrupted." And Dr. Pusey ought further to remember, that the African Bishops accept these statements, and that St. Augustine comments upon them: "He answered to all as was right, and as it became the Prelate of the Apostolic See." The African Bishops, then, believing the Principate of the Roman See to be of Divine institution, which is the first point, recognize it as the bond of Faith, which is the second.

The third point is this. In the case of Cæcilianus and Majorinus, about the year 311—whence sprung the whole

Donatist schism—St. Augustine says the dissension of the African Prelates ought to have been referred to the Bishops beyond the sea, of whom the Pope was chief, and who would have issued a letter to the Churches of all the world, declaring who was the rightful occupant of the See of Carthage. St. Augustine, then, and his colleagues recognized in the Apostolic See and its Principate the bond of Communion, as well as the bond of Faith.

These three things, then—the Principate of the Apostolic See by divine institution, and its recognition as the bond of Faith, and the bond of Communion by that African Episcopate in which the case of Apiarius arose—are proved by testimonies quite unimpeachable to any one who holds Dr. Pusey's principles.

And now I would ask, if Dr. Pusey recognized, as the African Episcopate did, these three things in the Roman See, —a Primacy which was of divine institution, in which inhered the supreme decision as to doctrine and the supreme judgment as to communion,—would he make much difficulty of leaving to that See the right to determine the particular causes of Bishops and Priests? Is it not precisely because he does not allow either of these three things that he flies for refuge to the case of Apiarius? It is true this case was a favourite resource with the historical school of Tillemont and Fleury, and with the dogmatic school of Bossuet, against those who held Bellarmine's conclusions. But then Tillemont, and Fleury, and Bossuet, and Bellarmine alike, held all the three points above mentioned: it was not against either of these three points that the case of Apiarius was cited; but it was cited as serving to illustrate the proper adjustment of power between the Pope and the Bishops of his communion. As to this point it had a certain weight. Bossuet and Tillemont were consistent in quoting it; but it has nothing to do with the object for which Dr. Pusey cites it. He cites it in order to show that there was no bond of Faith and Communion between the African Episcopate and the Apostolic See—no Principate in it

acknowledged by them; and he cites it for this purpose, because the Anglican Establishment, as set up by Elizabeth, being the apple of his eye, and being set up precisely on the denial of the Principate of the Apostolic See as the bond of Faith and of Communion to the whole Church, and on the substitution of a civil supremacy as the centre of a national Church, he is anxious to show by the testimony of the African Episcopate that they exercised an independence which denied the Primacy of Rome. Now, I have proved by unanswerable testimony that the African Episcopate expressly recognized, quite apart from this case of Apiarius, what Dr. Pusey supposes that they denied. And now for the case itself.

Apiarius, a Priest of Sicca, having been deposed and excommunicated by his Bishop Urbanus, appealed to the Pope, Zosimus, who restored him to communion, and sent his legate, Faustinus, with Philip and Asellius, to Africa, with instructions as to four points: that Bishops might appeal to the Bishop of Rome; that they should not go so often to the Court; that Priests and Deacons inconsiderately excommunicated by their Bishops should be tried afresh by the neighbouring Bishops; and that the Bishop Urbanus should be separated from communion, or even summoned to Rome, if he did not amend what he had done amiss. The first and third articles the legate was instructed to ground on the canons of the Council of Sardica, which he quoted under the name of the Council of Nicæa, these canons being placed together.

The instructions thus given to the legate are demurred to by the African Bishops, as contrary to their practice up to that time, and as not contained in their copies of the Nicene canons. True copies of these canons are sent for from Constantinople and Alexandria, and are not found to contain the regulations which the Pope enjoined. After an interval of some years Apiarius, having been again restored at Rome, is brought back by Faustinus, as legate, a second time to Africa; and at length, in a great Council of Bishops, confesses the crimes which he had committed, and so puts an end to his

own case. But the Bishops of the province of Carthage write an indignant letter to Pope Cælestine, quoted by Dr. Pusey in pp. 68–70, in which they say to him, "We earnestly conjure you that for the future you do not readily admit to a hearing persons coming hence, nor choose to receive to your communion those who have been excommunicated by us; because your Veneration will readily perceive that this has been prescribed even by the Nicene decree."

A conflict, then, has arisen between the Holy See on the one hand claiming to receive the appeals of Bishops and Priests, and on the other hand the African Episcopate standing upon their custom, up to that time, of hearing and deciding such causes among themselves. And it is remarkable that the Pope refers to the canons of Sardica—which he numbers under those of Nicæa—and not to the inherent rights of his Primacy; while the African Bishops refer to their immemorial custom, and to the express statements of the Nicene canons.

I think Dr. Pusey has a right to ask here for an explanation of two things—first, the strength of the language used by the Bishops in defence of their supposed rights; and, secondly, why the Pope refers to canons rather than to his own power as Primate.

My answer is as follows; and it applies not only to this case of Apiarius, but to the resistance of St. Hilary of Arles to Pope St. Leo in the case of Celidonius, and to every other case of those ages wherein obedience was not yielded without a struggle to the Papal See. I conceive that while the Principate of the Apostolic Chair of Rome was acknowledged all over the Church, as we have seen above most indubitably proved by the Fourth Council, yet all that was contained in that Principate was not seen and understood by every Bishop, or even by every province of the Church. From the cessation of external persecution onwards through the fourth and fifth centuries, the Apostolic See, as the great unifying power of the Church, was making itself more and more felt. It was contracting that partial autonomy which in the first ages was

exercised by local Churches, and which must have been so much favoured by the state of persecution, or at least liability to persecution, through which for three whole centuries it was not possible to hold any Council of the whole Church. From the time these Councils begin the power of the Roman See increases: its Prelates are not present at them, but are represented by their legates, and the decrees are afterwards brought for their confirmation. Now, of local Churches I do not doubt that the African enjoyed the largest autonomy, subject, however, to the three points proved above—the Primacy of Rome by divine institution, and that as the bond of Faith and of Communion. And it did so perhaps because it had not received the Faith from Rome, but, as St. Augustine says, "from that root of the Eastern Churches whence the Gospel came to Africa."* When, therefore, the Apostolic See, having a fuller consciousness of its own powers and rights, as was natural, than was possessed elsewhere, began to stretch out its arms in all directions, and to make the whole Body move, as it were, with one impulse, the Bishops—who had inherited not, indeed, independence, but a considerable power of self-government—naturally felt this action, and, as the whole Church lived upon tradition, as naturally appealed to this tradition, and sometimes almost in menacing language. For probably no Bishop and no Father in those times had worked out to himself the whole theory of the Church's government; each accepted that condition of things in which he found himself placed, and carried on the tradition of his predecessors. I have shown that St. Augustine fully acknowledged the Primacy of the Roman See as having ever existed; yet when I read his works against the Donatists, and specially his Pastoral on the unity of the Church, while I see that he has thoroughly grasped the indivisible oneness and universality of the Church as the House, Temple, Kingdom, Inheritance, and Body of Christ, and her perpetual function of teaching, as involved in these titles, and visibly exhibited in

* See Epist. 52, tom. ii. 119 b; and Epist. 43, tom. ii. 91 e.

that oneness and universality,—I do not think that even that far-seeing and magnificent mind, that serene and capacious judgment, fully comprehended what was contained in the Principate of the Apostolic Chair of Rome, which he himself alleged against the Donatists. What St. Augustine did not fully see, neither did his contemporaries. And so when as men they were touched, when the causes which they had been accustomed to decide were called to Rome, they cried out—they were vehement; yet, even so, the utmost that they venture on to the Pope is, "impendio deprecamur,"—we earnestly entreat you.

But why does not the Pope at once appeal to his apostolic authority? Why does he cite canons of Councils, instead of his inherent right? I think it was part of the prudence which has ever belonged to the Apostolic See to cite to men what they would with least feeling of personal offence acknowledge: now, the canons of Councils, as being the acts of Bishops, were their own acts. The Holy See, being filled with one consistent tradition from the very first, and having to impress this upon the whole Church, took men as it found them; employed one argument here, another there: content sometimes to accept as the concession of a Council what it knew to be contained in its own charge of feeding the universal Church. Now I admit, that to those who look at ecclesiastical history outside, and by whom the Guardianship of the Vine intrusted by the Saviour to the Pope is not acknowledged, this long process of unifying and, as I should term it, consolidating the Church's power, carried on by the Holy See century after century, may appear a usurpation. Such a one, not having the key in his mind, may even cry out, after detailing this very case of Apiarius, "I cannot imagine how a divine right can be constructed out of a series of successful encroachments."* But if the Fourth Council spoke the voice of the Church (and Dr. Pusey, together with the community for which he pleads, acknowledges that Council, and believes, at

* hurch of England cleared from Schism, p. 145.

least occasionally, in the Church which it represents), then the Divine right existed from the beginning. Now, given those three things with which we started—a Principate of divine institution, which is the bond of Faith and of Communion,—then I conceive that the very adjustment of power between the Pope and the Bishops which has actually followed, could not in fact fail to follow, though the African Bishops, at a particular point of it, stood out for a right which they thought they had inherited; and though many others like them, as the great St. Cyprian and Hilary of Arles, who completely believed and held the Church's unity and authority, resisted the process going on in their day, by which that unity and authority were more and more brought out. It must be added, that St. Augustine in his latter years, as was shown above, seems entirely to have accepted the appeal of a Bishop to Rome, which was the most important of the points objected to by the African Bishops; and that from this time forth the claim of the Pope in both respects, as to receiving appeals of Priests and Bishops, seems to have been admitted.

III.

But there is another point of the greatest importance, which must also be allowed its due force. When St. Augustine, at the close of the fourth century, entered upon his episcopate, he found a large majority of the people in his own province of Numidia Donatists. In his own city of Hippo their predominance had been so great, that the Donatist Bishop enjoined the bakers of the city to bake no bread for Catholics. Throughout Africa they were at least equal in numbers and social weight to the Catholics. What arguments, then, did he use against them, possessing, as they did, orders, episcopal succession, sacraments, and the Catholic Faith? We have a perfect mirror of his mind in a pastoral issued by him about the year 402. In this he says, addressing "the most beloved brethren committed to our charge, to whom be the salvation

which is in Christ, and the peace of unity and charity:" "The question at issue is, *Where* is the Church—with us or with them? The Church undoubtedly is one, which our ancestors called Catholic, in order to show by the very name that it is *through the whole;* for *throughout the whole* is in Greek *καθ' ὅλον.** Now, this Church is the Body of Christ; as the Apostle says, 'For His Body, which is the Church.' Whence it is quite manifest that he who is not in the members of Christ cannot have Christian salvation. Now, the members of Christ are joined to each other by the charity of unity, and by the same cohere with their Head, who is Christ Jesus. The whole announcement, then, concerning Christ is the Head and the Body. The Head is Jesus Christ Himself, the only-begotten Son of the living God; 'the Saviour of the

* The word Catholic, as applied to the Church, indicates the unity of a body, *i.e.* unity in multiplicity; so that this unity cannot be broken up without the parts which constitute the whole going to pieces with the whole. It is used already by St. Ignatius (Ep. ad Smyr. 8) in this sense of an organic connection of all the faithful together: "Where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church;" of which the words of St. Augustine above quoted may serve as an interpretation. The following passage of St. Basil will perhaps throw light upon both St. Augustine and St. Ignatius: "The Spirit is likewise conceived as the whole in its parts (*ὡς ὅλον ἐν μέρεσι*), according to His distribution of gifts. For we are all members of each other, but have gifts different according to the grace of God given to us. The eye, then, cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee; nor, again, the head to the feet, I have no need of you; but all fill up together the Body of Christ in the unity of the Spirit, while they give mutually to each other the help necessary from the gifts. For God has placed the members in the body, each of them as He has willed. Now the limbs have a mutual solicitude for each other, according to the spiritual communion of the sympathy that is in them. Therefore, if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it; if one member is glorified, all the members rejoice with it. And as parts in a whole (*καὶ ὡς μέρη δὲ ἐν ὅλῳ*), all we in particular are in the Spirit, because all we have been baptized in one Body into one Spirit" (St. Basil, de Spiritu Sancto, 26, tom. iii. p. 52 a). The Church, then, is Catholic, because the Spirit of Christ dwelling in it as His Body makes it one whole. This is the *proper idea* of Catholic, to which accedes the idea of universality; because it is the Body *of Christ*. Thus we find it in the middle of the second century, with this second meaning as well as the first, in the address of "the Church of God inhabiting Smyrna—to all the dioceses of the Holy Catholic Church in every place," as quoted by Eusebius. And so the full idea is, *organic unity in universality*. This idea is what St. Augustine expresses above and argues upon in all this pastoral, and in his other writings against the Donatists. See also Möhler's Einheit in der Kirche, Zusatz v. p. 268, and the quotation from Clemens Alex. below.

Body,' 'who died for our sins and rose again for our justification.' His Body is the Church, of which it is said, 'To present to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing.' But between us and the Donatists the question is, *Where* is this Body? that is, where is the Church?" And a little further on: "The whole Christ is Head and Body. The Head, the only-begotten Son of God; and His Body, the Church: the Bridegroom and the Bride, two in one flesh. Whosoever dissent from the Holy Scriptures in respect of the Head, even though they be found in all the places in which the Church is marked out to be, are not in the Church. And again, whosoever agree with the Holy Scriptures concerning the Head, and do not communicate with the unity of the Body, are not in the Church, because they dissent from Christ's own witness concerning Christ's Body, which is the Church. For instance: they who believe not that Christ has come in the flesh, from the Virgin Mary, of the seed of David, which the Scripture of God most plainly says, or has risen in that very Body in which He was crucified and buried; even though they were found through all the countries through which the Church is, are undoubtedly not in the Church; because they do not hold the Head of the Church, who is Christ Jesus, nor are deceived by any obscurity of the Sacred Writings, but contradict their best-known and plainest testimonies. Again, whosoever believe that Christ Jesus, as was said, came in the flesh, and rose again in the same flesh in which He was born and suffered, and is the Son of God, God with God, and together with the Father the Father's one and unchangeable Word, by whom all things were made; but still so dissent from His Body, which is the Church, that their communion is not with the whole, wherever it is spread, but is found in some part, in separation; it is plain that such are not in the Catholic Church. Therefore, inasmuch as our question with the Donatists is not respecting the Head, but the Body,—that is, not respecting our Saviour Jesus Christ, but respecting His Church,—let the Head Himself about

whom we agree, show to us His own Body, about which we disagree, that by means of His words our disagreement may cease." *

In what follows of this pastoral he produces a great number of passages from the Old Testament, prophesying that there should be a Church, one, universal, and everlasting. After which he says: "What, then, will they say to these passages from the Law, the Prophets, the Psalms, concerning the Church of Christ which is spread through the whole world; which perverse men had rather resist than correct themselves, and communicate with it? What, I repeat, will they say? That they are false, or that they are obscure? False they dare not say, overwhelmed by such a weight of authority. Admitting them, then, to be true, they contend that they cannot be fulfilled; as if it were anything else but to charge a prophecy with falsity, to say that what it foretold could not be fulfilled: that is to say, it is not a prophecy, but a false prophecy. And when you ask them why they cannot be fulfilled, they answer, because men are unwilling. Man, they say, was created with free-will; and if he wills, he believes on Christ; if he does not will, he does not believe: if he wills, he perseveres in what he believes; if he does not will, he does not persevere. And so, when the Church had begun to increase throughout the world, men would not persevere, and the Christian religion failed out of all nations, except the party of Donatus. As if the Spirit of God did not know that men were to have wills! Who is mad enough to say that? Why, then, did He not rather foretell what He knew would be the result of men's wills? For in the manner in which these men think these predictions were made, anybody who likes can be a prophet, since he can answer, when his predictions are not fulfilled, Men were unwilling—for Christians have free-will. In this manner any one might prophesy that Christ should not die by the cross, but by the sword; and when the issue was contrary, might answer, What could I do? Men

* De Unitate Ecclesiæ, ch. ii. iv. tom. ix. 338, 341.

endowed with free-will would not do to Him what I foretold, and would do to Him what they willed themselves. Might not, in this manner, many things have been prophesied, or yet be prophesied, by anybody? For who can doubt that Judas would not have betrayed Christ, if he had willed it; and Peter would not have denied the Lord thrice, if he had willed it? But the prophecy concerning these was certain, for the very reason that God foresees even future wills."*

Then, passing to the words and promises of our Lord Himself, he rests, out of many others, principally on three passages, to prove that the Church is one, universal, and everlasting. These are: "Can any one not understand, 'Thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise again the third day; and that penitence and remission of sins should be preached in His name through all nations, beginning from Jerusalem'? Can any one not understand, 'You shall be My witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa and Samaria, and even to the uttermost part of the earth'?"† The second is: "The field is the world: let both—the wheat and the cockle—grow together unto the harvest: the harvest is the end of the world." The third is: "And this Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, for a testimony to all nations; and then shall the consummation come."‡

Not only in this pastoral, but in various writings against the Donatists, does he again and again recur to these three texts, both as being words of our Lord Himself, and as committing the very truth and honour of the Son of God to the assertion that there should be one Church, arising from Jerusalem, growing through all lands, and preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom, from the day of Pentecost unto the day of Judgment. This assertion is the sword with which he transfixes the Donatists. His challenge to them is: "As we by most plain testimonies have proved a Church diffused through the whole world, so let them also produce something

* De Unitate Ecclesiæ, tom. ix. ch. ix. p. 351. † Ibid. p. 355 c.
‡ Ibid. p. 362 d.

plain to show that it was predicted that all other nations, perishing from the faith of Christ, Africa alone should remain, and the Bishops who should be sent from Africa." *

The Donatist assertion, then, was, the Church has ceased to be universal, and is confined to the Donatists in Africa. "Between us and them," St. Augustine says, "the question is, *where* is the Church?" There they stopped; but it was enough to condemn them in the great Doctor's eyes, and in the eyes of all Catholics then and since throughout the world; and likewise in Dr. Pusey's eyes, who says their "body was formed on a heresy." †

Now let us take St. Augustine's challenge once more: "As we by most plain testimonies have proved a Church diffused through the whole world, so let them also produce something plain to show that it was predicted"—what? that this Church should be broken up by schism, or have its office of teaching suspended by the non-communion of its parts; that it should in one such part preach the truth defectively, in another mix it up with errors; in fact, that the Church should cease to be one, cease to be the pillar and ground of the truth, and become, in the very words applied by our Lord to His great enemy, "a kingdom divided against itself"? This is Dr. Pusey's statement. The Church has ceased to maintain the one concordant doctrine of Christ, His whole doctrine, and nothing but His doctrine, *i.e.* "the Gospel of the kingdom;" and is parted into distinct Christian bodies, which each hold a certain portion of the truth, while each deny what others hold, each hold what others deny. Which is the more radical denier of the very existence of the Church—the Donatist, or the Anglican? The Donatist said, There is a Church to last for ever, and to teach the whole truth for ever; and it is mine. St. Augustine replied, It is not Catholic; it does not fulfil the prophecies. Dr. Pusey says, the one Body is become "Christian bodies, unknown in face, in place separate, different in language, opposed, alas!

* De Unitate Ecclesiæ, tom. ix. p. 365 d. † p. 65.

in some things to one another." What have we to reply but that the very Idea of the Church is absent from any mind which can so speak? The question, therefore, between us and Dr. Pusey is, not *where* is this Body, that is, where is the Church; but does this Body exist, that is, *is there a Church?*

How much more absolute and radical a denial of our Lord's truth and honour is contained in this statement of Dr. Pusey than in that of the Donatists! How much less trouble it would have given to St. Augustine! for it is a point-blank contradiction of the whole doctrine on which his censure of the Donatists was founded. "The whole Christ is the Head and the Body: the Head, the only-begotten Son of God; and His Body, the Church: the Bridegroom and the Bride, two in one flesh." It predicates concerning this Body of Christ that it should be split in pieces by error, and cease to bear the witness which none but unity can give to the truth of the Lord's mission; and so it states in so many words the contradictory to the great promise on which St. Augustine relied, and says, "This Gospel of the kingdom shall not be preached in the whole world for a testimony to all nations until the consummation come."

I must again quote to Dr. Pusey a passage written more than thirteen years ago, and ask whether it does not find a full application in his book: "Having on the one hand this vast amount of positive proof, from sources so various, in behalf of the Primacy of Rome, so that without it the whole Christian history of eighteen centuries, in all its manifold blendings with secular history, becomes unintelligible, a tangle which it is impossible to arrange, when we come on the other hand to consider what its opponents allege of *positive* on their own side, we find nothing. They content themselves with objections to this or that detached point, with historical difficulties, and obscurations of the full proof, such, for instance, as the conduct of St. Cyprian in one controversy, the occasional resistance of a Metropolitan, the secular instinct of an imperial government stirring up Eastern Bishops to revolt,

and fostering an Erastian spirit in the Church, the ambition of thoroughly bad men, such as Acacius, or Photius, and the like. But what we may fairly ask of opponents, and what we never find the most distant approach to in them, is, if, as they say, St. Peter's Primacy be not legitimate, and instituted by Christ for the government of the Church, what *counter-system* have they, which they can prove by ancient documents, and whereby they can solve the manifold facts of history? In all their arguments against the Primacy they are so absolutely *negative*, that the grand result, if they were successful, would be to reduce the Church to a heap of ruins, to show that she, who is intrusted with the authoritative teaching of the world, has no internal coherence either of government or doctrine, in fact, no message from God to deliver, and no power to enforce it when delivered. In the arguments of Greeks and Anglicans, Lutherans and Calvinists, and all the Protestant sects, the gates of hell have long ago prevailed against the Church, and the devil has built up at his ease a city of confusion on the rock which Christ chose for her foundation. If we listen to them, never has victory been more complete than that of the evil one over the Son of God; the promised unity he has scattered to the winds; the doctrine of truth he has utterly corrupted; the charity wherewith Christians loved one another he has turned into gall and wormwood. That is, the opponents of St. Peter's Primacy are, one and all, simply *destructives;* they inspire despair, and are the pioneers of infidelity, but are utterly powerless to build up. Ask the Anglican what is the source of spiritual jurisdiction and the bond of the episcopate which he affects to defend. *He makes no reply.* All he can say is, it is *not* St. Peter. Ask the Greeks if Bishop and Patriarch disagree, and come to opposite judgments on the faith, or to schisms in communion, which party makes the Church. *He has no solution to offer*, save that it is *not* the party which sides with St. Peter's successor. Ask the pure Protestant, who maintains the sole authority of the written word, if you disagree about the meaning of Scripture

in points which you admit to touch salvation, who is to determine what is the true meaning of the word of God. *He has nothing to reply*, save that he is sure that it is *not* the Pope. Contrast, then, on the one side a complete coherent system, fully delineated and set forth in the Bible, attested by the Fathers, corroborated by analogy, and harmonizing the history of eighteen hundred years in its infinitely numerous relations, with, on the other side, a mere heap of objections and denials, with shreds of truth held without cohesion, with analogy violated, history thrown into hopeless confusion, and, to crown the whole, Holy Scripture incessantly appealed to, yet its plainest declarations recklessly disregarded, and its most consoling promises utterly evacuated. Choose upon this between *within* and *without*." *

Now, in order to show how St. Augustine, in all this argument against the Donatists, is simply expressing an idea which had full possession of the minds of all the Fathers, I will quote a testimony of the most illustrious of them down to his time on this one point. It will be seen with what unfaltering assurance, accuracy, and decision they have received and carried out and put forth to all time the teaching of the great Apostle: "There is one Body and one Spirit, even as we are called in one hope of our calling; one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all." And how this Lord "is Head over the Body," and "Saviour of the Body," so that "they two are one flesh."

St. Clement of Rome (A.D. 60–100), after referring to the obedience and discipline of an army, continues: "Let us take our own body: the head without the feet is nothing, nor the feet without the head; and the least members of the body are necessary and serviceable to the whole; while all conspire and make one obedience serve for the whole body's preservation. So too let our whole body in Jesus Christ be preserved, and each be obedient to his neighbour, according to the rank

* St. Peter, his Name and his Office, p. 256.

assigned to him by grace. . . . Those who adhere to the holy shall be sanctified. . . . Why are there strifes, angers, separations, divisions, and war among you? Have we not one God and one Christ? And is there not one Spirit of grace poured out upon us, and one calling in Christ? Why do we strain and torture Christ's members, and raise sedition against our own body? . . . Learn to be subject, putting aside the boastful and haughty self-will of your tongue; for it is better for you to be found small and of repute in the flock of Christ than seeming to be eminent to be cast away from His hope." *

St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, martyred 107: "Where the Bishop is, there let the multitude" of believers "be; as where Jesus Christ is there is the Catholic Church."† Which his words elsewhere explain: "I beseech you to concur with the mind of God; for Jesus Christ, your incomparable life, is the Father's mind: as likewise the Bishops established in their respective boundaries are in the mind of Jesus Christ." ‡

Here is the Cyprianic statement: "Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur;" in which solidarity is "the mind of Christ." So elsewhere, after commending unity, because the Lord did nothing without the Father, he continues: "There is one Jesus Christ, than whom nothing is better: haste together, then, all as to the temple of God, as to one altar, as to one Jesus Christ."§ And no less clearly he points out the danger: "Sons, then, of light and the truth, fly division and evil doctrines; but where the Shepherd is, there follow you as sheep; for many wolves (as if they were) worthy of credit lead captive with an evil pleasure God's runners: but in your unity they shall not have place. Abstain from evil herbage, of which Jesus Christ is not the husbandman, because they are not the Father's planting. Not that I have found division among you, but purity drained off from dregs. For as many as are of God and Jesus Christ, these

* Ep. ad Cor. 37, 46, 57.
† Ad Smyr. 8.
‡ Ad Ephes. 3.
§ Ad Magnes. 7.

are with the Bishop; and as many as shall repent and come to the unity of the Church, those also shall be of God, that they may live according to Jesus Christ. Be not deceived, my brethren; whosoever followeth one that causeth schism does not inherit the kingdom of God. If any one walks by another's opinion, he agrees not to the Passion." *

This unity of the Church he calls, in the same letter, the unity of God. "God pardons all, if they repent into the unity of God;" for Christ is "the door of the Father, through which enter Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the Prophets and Apostles, and the Church—all these into the unity of God:" and again, "God's unity and yours." Thus the Prophets were saved "in the unity of Jesus Christ;" and the faithful are "so fused together, as the Church with Jesus Christ, and as Jesus Christ with the Father, that all things may be accordant in unity." †

Hermas—considered by Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome to be the Hermas mentioned in Rom. xvi. 14—in his "Pastor" has a vision, which he describes at great length. He is taken into a vast plain, round which arise twelve mountains of very various aspect—some wild and rugged, some smooth and bare, some treeless, some wooded and rich, some full of thorns, some with flocks and herds and all manner of fruits, and some green above but barren below. At the centre of the plain stands a lofty rock; and on this rock he is shown a tower building. Stones are brought from the twelve mountains, and again dug out of the plain, which are all carried through one portal in the rock, and there built into a tower, the perfection of which is, as he again and again repeats, that all the stones are so jointed together as that the seams disappear and they look as one stone. The master of the building comes in to watch the work, and seeing certain stones already laid which are black, or spotted, or fractured, or defective in some way, orders them to be taken out: such as can be rendered serviceable to his tower, so that it may have one colour and

* Ad Phil. 3. † Ad Phil. 8, 9; ad Smyr. 12; ad Phil. 5; ad Ephes. 5.

aspect, one clothing, as it is named, he orders to have their defects removed, and then to be replaced; the rest he causes to be put aside as worthless, and afterwards to be taken back to the mountains from which they were hewn. Now he is told by his guide that these mountains are the nations of the earth, and this tower the Church: the Church not yet as it is to be: for the building is going on, and the faulty stones are taken out from it, and if incapable of being squared to their place and wrought to the colour of the building, not put back, but replaced by others. How is it, the seer asks, that these mountains, so various, are formed into the one structure of the tower, and, take one colour? It is because, he is told, "all the nations of the earth have heard and believed, and are called by the one name of the Son of God, and have received His seal, and accepted the same prudence and the same sense, and have one faith and one charity: and so they all began to be one body." And when the Builder saw it, "he began greatly to rejoice; for so fairly was it built, that any one who looked at it would long after its structure; for it seemed to be as if of one stone; nor did any jointure appear; but it looked as if sculptured out of a single rock." *

Author of letter to Diognetus, not later than Trajan: "I speak not of things strange to me, nor inquire against reason; but being a disciple of Apostles, become a teacher of Gentiles. What has been delivered to me I supply to those who become worthy disciples of the truth: for who that is well taught, and that is born of the friendly Word, seeks not to know distinctly the things plainly shown by the Word to His disciples, to whom the Word, appearing visibly, manifested them in open speech, being not understood by the unbelieving, but conveying them to the disciples, who, being deemed faithful by Him, understood the mysteries of the Father; for which He sent the Word, to be visible to the world; who being dishonoured by the people, but proclaimed by the Apostles, was believed by the nations. This is He who is from the begin-

* Hermas, Pastor, lib. iii. sim. 9, c. xvii. 9. Gallandi, tom. i. 96–108.

ning, who appeared as one new, who was found (in time?), and is ever being freshly born in the hearts of saints. Through whom the Church receives her treasure, and grace expanding is multiplied in the saints, conveying understanding, manifesting mysteries, announcing times, rejoicing over the faithful, given to those who seek it; by whom the boundaries of the Faith are not broken through, nor the boundaries of the Fathers overleapt. Thereupon the fear of the law breaks into hymns, and the grace of the prophets is recognized, and the belief of the gospels established, and the tradition of the Apostles kept, and the grace of the Church exults: which grace not grieving, you will learn what the Word utters, by whom He wills, when it pleaseth Him."*

St. Justin Martyr (A.D. 120–167). Commenting on "the Queen stands at thy right hand" (Ps. xliv.), he says: "The Word of God addresses those who believe in Him, being one soul, and one synagogue, and one Church, as a daughter, the Church that is made out of His name, and shares His name, for we are all called Christians." And on the words, "Israel is my elect" (Isa. xlii. 1, Sept.): "For we, being quarried out of the side of Christ, are the true Israelitic race." And again: "So we all, as one man, through the name of Jesus having believed on God, the maker of all things, through the name of His first-born Son having put off our filthy garments, that is, our sins, and kindled by the word of His calling, are the true high-priestly race of God." And on the words, "We announced before him as a child" (Is. liii. 2, Sept.): "It signifies that the wicked, becoming obedient to Him, followed His command, and all became as one child. The like of which can be seen in the body; for while there are many members, all together are called and are the body. For both people and Church, being many in number, are called by one name, as one thing." And again: "For the Vine that is planted by God and by the Saviour is His people."†

* Ep. ad Diognetum, s. 11.

† St. Justin Martyr, Trypho, §§ 63, 135, 116, 42, 110.

Irenæus (A.D. 120–200): I. "This preaching and this faith the Church having received, though she be disseminated through the whole world, carefully guards, as inhabiting one house, and equally believes these things" (the creed he has just recited), "as having one soul, and the same heart; and these things she accordantly preaches and teaches, and delivers down as having one mouth. For though the languages through the world are various, yet the power of the tradition is one and the same. Nor have the Churches founded in Germany otherwise believed or otherwise handed down, nor those in Spain, nor in Gaul, nor in the East, nor in Egypt, nor in Libya, nor those in the middle of the world: but as the sun, God's creature, through all the world is one and the same, so too the preaching of the truth shines everywhere, and lights all men that are willing to come to the knowledge of the truth: nor will he among the Church's rulers who is powerful in word say other than this; for no one is above the Teacher; nor will he that is weak in word diminish the tradition; for the Faith being one and the same, neither he that can say much on it has gathered too much, nor he that can say little is deficient."

II. "There being then such proofs to look to, we ought not still to seek amongst others for the truth, which it is easy to receive from the Church; since the Apostles most fully committed unto this Church, as unto a rich storehouse, all which is of the truth, so that every one, whoever will, may draw from it the draught of life. For this is the gate of life: all the rest are thieves and robbers. They must therefore be avoided; but whatever may be of the Church we must love with the utmost diligence, and lay hold of the tradition of the truth."

III. "The Faith received in the Church we guard in it, which being always from the Spirit of God, like an admirable deposit in a good vessel, is always young and always makes young the vessel in which it is. For as the breath of life to the body, so this office of God is intrusted to the Church, that

all the members receiving may be quickened, and herein is placed the communication of Christ, that is, the Holy Spirit, the earnest of incorruption, the confirmation of our faith, and the ladder by which we ascend to God. For, saith he, in the Church God placed Apostles, Prophets, Teachers, and all the remaining operation of the Spirit, of whom all those are not partakers who do not run to the Church, but deprive themselves of life by an evil opinion and a much worse conduct. For where the Church is, there also is the Spirit of God: and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church and all grace; but the Spirit is truth. Wherefore they who are not partakers of Him, are neither nourished unto life from the breasts of the mother, nor receive that most pure fountain which proceeds from the Body of Christ; but dig out for themselves broken cisterns from earthly ditches, and from the filth drink foul water, avoiding the Faith of the Church lest they be brought back, and rejecting the Spirit, that they may not be taught. But estranged from the truth, worthily do they wallow in every error, tossed about by it, having different opinions on the same subjects at different times, and never holding one firm mind, choosing rather to be sophists of words than disciples of the truth: for they are not founded upon the one rock, but on the sand which has in it a multitude of pebbles.

IV. "The said heretics, then, being blind to the truth, cannot help walking out of the track into one path after another, and hence it is that the fragments of their doctrine are scattered about without any harmony and coherence. Whereas the road of those who are in the Church goes round the whole world, because it possesses a firm tradition from the Apostles. . . . Now the Church's preaching is true and firm, in whom one and the same way of salvation is shown through the whole world. For to her is intrusted the light of God; and hence the Wisdom of God, by which He saves all men, 'is sung at her entrance, acts with confidence in her streets, is proclaimed on her walls, and speaks ever in the gates of the city.' For

everywhere the Church proclaims the truth: she is the seven-branched candlestick bearing Christ's light." *

Tertullian (A.D. 160–240): "Our Lord Jesus Christ, so long as He was on earth, Himself declared, whether to the people openly or to the disciples apart, what will of the Father He administered, what duty of man He laid down. Of whom He had attached to His own side twelve in chief, the destined teachers of the nations. One of these having fallen off from Him, on His departure to the Father after the resurrection, He bade the other eleven go and teach the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The Apostles then, forthwith, assuming by lot Matthias as a twelfth into the place of Judas, by the authority of the prophecy in a psalm of David, having obtained the promised power of the Holy Ghost for miracles and utterance, first through Judea bore witness to the faith in Jesus Christ, and established Churches, thence proceeding into the world promulgated the same doctrine of the same faith to the nations, and forthwith founded Churches in every city, from which the other Churches thenceforward borrowed the vine-layer † of the faith and the seeds of the doctrine, and are daily borrowing them that they may become Churches; and for this cause they are themselves also counted apostolical, as being the offspring of apostolical Churches. The whole kind must be classed under its original. And thus these Churches so many and so great are that one first from the Apostles, whence they all sprang. Thus all are the first and all apostolical, while all being one prove unity; whilst there is between them communication of peace, and the title of brotherhood, and the token of hospitality. And no other principle rules these rights, than the one tradition of the same sacrament." ‡

* St. Irenæus, i. 10, p. 49; iii. 4, p. 178; iii. 24, p. 223; v. 20, p. 317.

† "A quibus traducem fidei et semina doctrinæ cæteræ exinde Ecclesiæ mutuatæ sunt:" "tradux" is the vine-branch carried along above the ground from the parent stem, so that there is but one tree.

‡ "Sic omnes prima, et apostolicæ, dum una omnes probant unitatem; dum

Clement of Alexandria, master of the catechetical school (A.D. 189–217): "This being so, it is clear that heresies coming in subsequently to the most ancient and most true Church, as well as heresies still later than these, are innovations from it, as coins of adulterated stamp. From what has been said, then, I consider it manifest that the true Church, the really ancient Church, is one, in which are enrolled all who are just according to (God's) purpose. For inasmuch as there is one God and one Lord, therefore that which is most highly precious is praised for being alone, being an imitation of the one Principle. The One Church, then, which they try by force to cut up into many heresies, falls under the same category as the nature of the One.* So, then, we assert that the ancient and Catholic Church is one alone in its foundation, in its idea, in its origin, and in its excellence, collecting by the will of the one God through the one Lord into the unity of one faith, according to the peculiar covenants, or rather to the one covenant at different times, the preordained whom God predestined, having known before the foundation of the world that they would be just. But the excellence of the Church, as the principle of what is concrete, is in unity, surpassing all other things, and having nothing similar or equal to itself." †

Origen, contrasting the doctrine of the Incarnation, and its corollary that of the Church, with the stoical doctrine of Pantheism (A.D. 185–254): "We say that the divine words assert that the whole Church of God is the Body of Christ, animated by the Son of God, while the limbs of this Body as a whole are particular believers; since as the soul quickens and moves the body, whose nature it is not to have the movement of life from itself, so the Word moving to what is fitting and working the whole Body, the Church, moves

est illis communicatio pacis, et appellatio fraternitatis, et contesseratio hospitalitatis, quæ jura non alia ratio regit quam ejusdem sacramenti una traditio."—Tert. de Præsc. 20.

* Τῇ γοῦν τοῦ ἑνὸς φύσει συγκληροῦται Ἐκκλησία ἡ μία.

† Clemens Alex. Strom. vii. 17, p. 899.

likewise each member of the Church, who does nothing without the Word (or without reason)." *

St. Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria (A.D. 247–264) to Novatian: "If, as you say, it was against your will that you were led away, you will show it by returning of your own will. For it was better to suffer any extremity, in order not to divide the Church of God. And martyrdom endured to prevent schism were not less glorious than that endured to refuse idolatry; but in my opinion more so. For in the one case a man suffers martyrdom for his own single soul, but in the other for the whole Church. And now, if you can either persuade or compel the brethren to be of one mind, your success will be greater than your fault; the one will not be reckoned, but the other will be praised. But if through their obstinacy you cannot succeed, save, O save your own soul." †

As to St. Cyprian (A.D. 248–258), it would be requisite to quote a large portion of his works in order to show the force with which he grasped this idea. And especially his whole treatise on the Unity of the Church is instinct with it. Let it suffice to cite a few words, wherein, like Clement of Alexandria, he deduces the unity of the Church from the unity of God. "He who gathers elsewhere than in the Church scatters the Church of Christ. The Lord says, 'I and the Father are one;' and again, of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit it is written, 'And these three are one.' And does any one believe that this unity, proceeding from the divine immutability, cohering by celestial sacraments, can be broken up in the Church, and split by the device of wills in collision? He who holds not this unity, holds not the law of God, holds not the faith of the Father and the Son, holds not life and salvation. This sacrament of unity, this bond of concord inseparably cohering together, is shown in the Gospel when the robe of our Lord Jesus is not divided

* Origen cont. Cels. vi. 48, tom. i. 670.

† St. Dionys. Alex. Ep. 2. Gallandi, iii. 512.

or rent: but when they cast lots over Christ's garment, as to who should put on Christ, the whole garment is received, and the robe is possessed unbroken and undivided." *

In these words the Donatist schism, and whatever schism claims through possession of the sacraments to possess Christ outside of the unity of the one Body, is beforehand specifically condemned.

Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea (A.D. 309–340), on the words, "Who shall lead me into the strong city?" (Ps. lix. 11): "Very wonderfully is God said to walk among them not with naked feet, but shod, the word indicating the souls who minister to His will, through whom having wrought the calling of the Gentiles, He established His city everywhere over the earth,—I mean His Catholic Church, and the system of the polity of those who worship God; of which city it is elsewhere said, 'Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God;' and 'The stream of the river makes glad the city of God.' This fortified city, therefore, when that prophet desired to behold, he said, 'Who will bring me into the fortified city,' or into the city fenced round, as Symmachus renders it; for the gates and doors and bolts of the divine powers guard it round, so that it may undergo no devastation, Therefore did the Saviour say of it, 'I will build My Church upon the rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.'" †

St. Alexander, Archbishop of Alexandria (A.D. 313–326), who excommunicated Arius: "We acknowledge one and one only Catholic Apostolic Church, for ever indestructible, though the whole world should choose to war with it, and bearing away the victory over every most impious insurrection of heretics, since the Master of the House is the ground of our confidence, when He cried: 'Have confidence, I have overcome the world.'" ‡

St. Athanasius (A.D. 326–373), commenting on Ps. lxxxviii.

* St. Cyprian de Unitate, v.

† Eusebius Cæsar. Coll. nova Patrum, tom. i. 283.

‡ St. Alexander. Gallandi, iv. 450.

38, "His throne is as the sun before me," says: "Understand by throne of Christ the Church, for He rests upon it. There shall be then, he says, the Church of Christ, refulgent, and enlightening the whole world, and remaining continuously as the sun and the moon; for the passage says so: 'And His throne is as the sun before me, and as the moon perfect for ever, and the faithful witness in heaven.'" * And again: "When Peter says, 'Let the whole house of Israel know that God has made this Jesus, whom you have crucified, both Lord and Christ,' he speaks not of His Godhead that He made Him Lord and Christ, but concerning His Manhood, which is the whole Church, which in Him is Lord and King after His crucifixion, and is anointed unto the kingdom of heaven, to reign together with Him, who for her sake crucified Himself, and assumed her through the form of a servant." †

And St. Basil (A.D. 328–379) seems to supply a comment on the preceding passage of St. Athanasius, when he thus carries on the presence of the Holy Ghost from the Person of Christ to the permanent order of His Church: "For, first, the Spirit was with the very Flesh of the Lord, becoming its unction, and being inseparably present with it, as is written: 'On whomsoever thou seest the Spirit descending and abiding upon Him, this is My beloved Son;' and 'Jesus of Nazareth, whom God anointed with the Holy Spirit.' Then every action was done by the presence of the Spirit with Him. He was present also when He was tempted by the devil; for Jesus was driven by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted.' And when He wrought miracles, the Spirit was inseparably with Him; 'For if I,' said He, 'by the Spirit of God cast out devils.' And when He rose from the dead, the Spirit did not leave him; for the Lord, restoring man to newness, and giving back to him the grace received from God breathing into him, when He breathed into the face of the Apostles, what did He say?—'Receive the Holy Ghost: whose

* St. Athan. tom. i. 1160 c.

† De Incarnatione, tom. i. 887 c.

sins you remit, they are remitted; and whose you retain, they are retained.' But the ordering of the Church, is it not plainly and unquestionably wrought by the Spirit? 'For He gave to the Church first Apostles, then Prophets, thirdly Teachers; moreover miracles, and gifts of healing, helps, governments, kinds of tongues.' For this ordering is arranged according to the distribution of the Spirit's gifts."*

St. Basil's brother, St. Gregory of Nyssa (A.D. 355–400), says: "He who has learnt that Christ is Head of the Church, let him consider this before all things, that every head is of the same nature and the same substance with the body subject to it; and there is a growing together of the particular limbs into the whole, producing by a common breathing a sympathy of the parts with the whole. So, then, if anything is outside the body, it has lost all communication with the head. Now, by this the Word instructs us that the several limbs should become what the head is by nature, in order to have their due relation to the head. Now we are the limbs, who grow together into the Body of Christ."†

St. Gregory of Nazianzum (A.D. 389), to Julian the Apostate: "Most foolish, most impious, most ignorant of men! Dost thou set thyself against such an inheritance—against the tree whose fruit has filled the world;‡ which had overpassed all limits by the cheapness of the Word, and the folly, as you would call it, of the preaching; which has conquered the wise, and silenced demons, and shot beyond time; which is at once both old and new, as you monstrously profess about one of your gods—old to the few, new to the many; old in the shadow, new in the perfection of the mystery dispensed at its proper time. Who, and what, and whence art thou, to match thyself with the mighty inheritance of Christ? not mighty only, but which will never fail, even if madmen worse than thou be found; but will ever advance onwards and rise higher (for my trust is in what is foretold

* St. Basil. de Sp. S. 16, tom. iii. 33.

† St. Greg. Nys. tom. ii. 721b. De perfecta Christiani forma.

‡ *κατὰ τοσούτου κλήρου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς καρποφορίας.*

and what is seen)—which He as God created, and as Man inherited; which the law shadowed out, and grace has fulfilled, and Christ inaugurated; which was framed together by Prophets, clamped into one by Apostles, finished off by Evangelists."*

Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem (A.D. 315–386): "The Jews having been cast away from grace, the Saviour built out of the nations secondly our holy Church of the Christians, of which He said to Peter: 'And upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' . . . Of this holy Catholic Church Paul writes to Timothy: 'That thou mayest know how thou shouldest behave in the House of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth.' Now, as the name of Church is said of different things, as of the multitude in the theatre of the Ephesians it is written: 'And when he had said this, he dismissed the assembly' (or Church); and as properly and truly one might call the Church of the wicked the meetings of heretics, Marcionists, Manichæans, and all the rest; for this reason the Faith has handed down to you with great care that 'on one holy Catholic Church,' in order that you may avoid these abominable meetings, and continue firm for ever in the holy Catholic Church, in which you were regenerated. And should you ever be in foreign cities, do not simply ask where is the Lord's house† (for all the heresies of the impious try to call their own lairs the Lord's houses), nor simply where is the Church; but where is the Catholic Church, for this is the proper name of this holy mother of us all, who is the bride of our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God; . . . who, through arms of justice on the right hand and on the left, through honour and dishonour, first in persecutions and afflictions, crowned the holy martyrs with many various and richly flowering coronets of patience; and now, in the times of peace, by the grace of God, has from kings and those in

* St. Greg. Naz. Orat. iv. 67, tom. i. 107.

† Ποῦ τὸ Κυριακόν ἐστι: where Κυριακὸν appears manifestly as the Greek word for the material fabric; and so the original of "Church."

authority her due honour, and from every kind and race of men, while the kings of these different nations have territorial limits to their power; but the holy Catholic Church alone has a power throughout the whole world, which has no territorial limit: for God, as is written, has made her territory Peace."*

And Epiphanius (320–400), after giving a catalogue and description of the heresies which from the beginning had swarmed round this great inheritance of Christ, and endeavoured to overcome and break it up, concludes, in contrast, thus: "And now, having journeyed over land and sea, the rough places of the earth and the difficulties of the wilderness, as we behold the city, let us hasten unto it, the holy Jerusalem, the virgin of Christ and His bride, the safe foundation and rock, both our venerable mother and Christ's bride; we too, using those most apposite words, 'Come and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob, and He will teach us His ways,' and the rest. . . . Come then, children of Christ, sons of the holy Church of God, let us also call upon the Bride, not as He called her who is her Bridegroom and Lord and Master, her King, God, and Champion, but as His servants let us call upon her, using the same language as He: Come from Libanus, my spouse; for thou art all fair, and there is not a spot in thee; the paradise of the great Workman, the city of the holy King, the bride of the spotless Christ, the pure virgin espoused in faith to the one only Husband, resplendent and leaning forth as the morning, fair as the moon, elect as the sun, terrible as an army set in array; whom queens have declared blessed, and concubines have hymned, and the daughters praised; she that cometh up from the desert, shining all in white, leaning on her beloved, breathing perfumes; . . . of whom it was said, 'Thy name is as oil poured out; therefore have the young maidens loved thee;' thou that standest at the King's right hand in gilded clothing. She has nothing darksome about

* Cyril. Cat. xviii. 25–27.

her; once, indeed, black, but now beautiful and fair: that being in thee, we may rest from the hateful heresies we have passed through, and may find repose from their swelling waves, and be refreshed in thee, our holy mother, the Church, and in the holy teaching which is within thee, and in the holy and only faith of God in truth. . . . And, first of all, we must state that the God who is over all is ours who are born of this holy Church; for this is the first demonstration of the truth, and foundation of the belief of this only virgin and holy and blameless dove. . . . For the Church is begotten of one faith, and brought forth through the Holy Ghost one to one, and one to her mother." *

St. Chrysostom (A.D. 347–407): "Withdraw not from the Church, for nothing is stronger than the Church. The Church is thy hope; the Church is thy salvation; the Church is thy refuge. She is loftier than the heaven, she is broader than the earth. She never grows old, but is always in her prime. Thus the Scripture, to manifest her solidity and impregnability, calls her the Mountain; for her incorruptibility, the Virgin; for her preciousness, the Queen; for her kindred with God, the Daughter; for her fecundity, calls her who was barren the bearer of seven: a thousand names to convey her nobility. For as her Lord has many names, and is called Father, and Way, and Life, and Light, and Arm, and Propitiation, and Foundation, and Door, and Sinless, and Treasure, and Lord, and God, and Son, and Only-begotten, and Form of God, and Image of God; does one name suffice to present the whole? Not so; but a thousand names are used to teach us somewhat about God, though it be but little. So too the Church is called many names. . . . Did God desire a harlot? yes, a harlot, our nature, I mean. . . . Such a desire in man destroys its object; but God's desire is the salvation of the desired. Did He, that is such and so great, desire a harlot? And why? To become her Bridegroom. What does He do? He sends not to her any of His servants; He sends no angel to

* St. Epiph. adv. Hær. tom. i. 1078, 9, 80, 83.

the harlot, no archangel, nor cherubim, nor seraphim; but He comes Himself, the Lover. . . . He takes her, He espouses her, and gives her, what? a ring; what ring? the Holy Ghost. . . . Then He saith, 'Did I not plant thee in Paradise?' She answers, 'Yes.' 'And how didst thou fall thence?' 'The devil came and cast me out of Paradise?' 'Thou wast planted in Paradise, and he cast thee out: behold, I plant thee in Myself; I carry Thee. . . . I have planted thee in Myself:' therefore he says, 'I am the root; you are the branches.'" *

St. Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria (A.D. 412–444): "That the Church is one, and one the mystery of Christ, and the Sacrifice not lawful, but rather to be rejected, and powerless to please God, when it is not offered in the Church, the law showed to us plainly, by forbidding that sacrifices should be offered without the sacred tabernacle."

"Christ cannot be divided. Hence too the Church is called the Body of Christ, and we members in particular, as Paul understands it. For we are all united to the one Christ by His holy Body, inasmuch as we receive the One and Indivisible into our own bodies; and so we owe our own members rather to Him than to ourselves. . . . For if in us, that of ourselves are many, in each Christ makes to dwell the Spirit of His Father and His own, yet is this one and indivisible Spirit drawing by Himself into unity us, that in our separate existence are distinct spirits, and causing all to appear as one thing in Himself. For as the power of the holy Flesh makes those in whom it may be concorporate, similarly, I conceive, the one Spirit of God, who dwells indivisible in all, draws all together into spiritual unity. Whence again St. Paul addressed us: 'Supporting one another in charity, careful to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace; one Body and one Spirit,' etc." †

* St. Chrys. Hom. de capto Eutropio, tom. iii. 391 d, 395 c, 396 b-c.

† St. Cyril, de Adorat. in Sp. et Ver. 13, tom. i. pp. 2, 474; and in Joan. ii. tom. iv. p. 999.

Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus (A.D. 423–457), on the 47th Psalm: "'Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised, in the city of our God, in His holy mountain.' As we have said, Scripture often calls city not the material buildings, but the polity; so now it says that the Lord of all is shown to be great by what He has done for His own city, which the depth of its doctrines has made illustrious, as seated on a lofty and mighty mountain. For a city set upon a mountain, says the Lord, cannot be hidden. 'Rooting it well, for the exultation of the whole earth.' For He hath built it well and solidly, for the joy of the whole earth, 'on the foundation,' as the Apostle says, 'of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the head corner-stone.' And as the Lord Himself to Peter: 'And upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' The expression 'rooting well' stands for 'founding solidly;' so that it remains for ever motionless and unshaken. . . . 'God is known in her houses, when He supports her.' One is the Church, through every land and sea; therefore in our prayers we say, 'For the holy and only Catholic and Apostolic Church, from one end of the earth to the other.' Again, she is divided into cities, villages, and fields, which the prophetic word called houses. As each city has many distinct houses, yet is called one city, so there are Churches by the thousand and innumerable; but all belong in common to one, united by the harmony of the true doctrines. In these he says that the God of the universe manifests Himself, supplying His own proper help: for 'God is known in her houses, when He supports her.' Then he foretells the insurrections which are to be, and the conversions of the enemy: 'For, lo, the kings of the earth assembled themselves, they gathered together; they saw, and were struck with wonder.' They assembled to make war with her; but seeing how invincible was she whom they warred against, they were struck with consternation. 'They were confounded, they were shaken: fear seized then upon them, and the pains as of a woman with

child,' etc. Seeing the impregnable foundations of the Church, and understanding the unerring truth of the promise, they were seized with fear and trembling; like men crossing the backs of the sea, and tossed with storms, and expecting utter destruction. So, ceasing from war and assault, they themselves proclaim the power of her whom they attacked, and cry, 'As we have heard, so have we seen, in the city of the Lord of Hosts, in the city of our God.' For, unwilling to receive the prophecies concerning her, we have seen by the force of facts their truth. 'God hath founded her for ever;' for it is His own voice, 'And on this rock,' etc. The prophetic word having thus shown the conversion of her enemies, foretells what words those who have gained salvation will use to praise their Benefactor: 'We have received, O God, Thy mercy in the midst of Thy people.' We look, he says, for this Thine aid, O Lord, knowing the unerring truth of Thy promises; for it is Thou who hast said, 'I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.'" *

Pacian, Bishop of Barcelona (A.D. 373 to about 391): "Come, you say, let us contend with facts and argument. I for my part have been hitherto free from all anxiety; have been content with the continued existence itself of the Church, and with the peacefulness of the ancient congregation. The arts of discord are unknown to me; I have been no searcher after arguments for disputation. You, after being separated from the rest of the body, and divided from your Mother, that you may give a reason for what you have done, have become an assiduous searcher and inquirer into all the hidden recesses of books: what is hidden you explore; what is at rest you disturb; our fathers, unchallenged, entered into no dispute; our very security sought no arms: what true defence on your side can you bring? . . . You state, and rightly indeed, that 'the Church is a people renewed of water and the Holy Ghost,' and free from denying the name of Christ, the temple and house of God, the pillar and ground of the truth, a holy

* Theodoret in Ps. xlvii. tom. i. 579–581.

virgin of most pure life, the Spouse of Christ, of His bones and of His flesh, not having spot or wrinkle, preserving entire the laws of the gospels.' Which of us denies this? Nay, we say further, the Church is the Queen, with vesture rich with gold and embroidery; the fruitful Vine on the sides of the house of the Lord; the Mother of young maidens without number; the one fair and perfect Dove of her mother; the very Mother of all built on the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone; a great house enriched with every variety of vessels. But this of ours hereafter; and meanwhile let us consider your words: 'The Church is a people born again of water and the Holy Ghost.' Well, who has closed up the Fountain of God? who has carried away the Spirit (from me)? Yea, rather with us is the living water which springs from Christ: whilst thou, separated from the perpetual fountain, whence hast thou thy birth? So the Holy Ghost has not departed from the chief mother: whence came He to thee? unless it be that He followed your dissent, and having abandoned so many Priests, content with an unconsecrated chair, has preferred the broken cistern of an adulterated fountain. . . . But come, proceed with the rest: 'The Church is the Body of Christ;' the Body, mind, not a member: the Body framed into one out of many parts and members, according to that of the Apostle, 'for the Body is not one member, but many:' wherefore the Church is the full body, both a body and a compact body, and a body now spread over the whole world; like a city, I mean, whose parts form one whole; not as you Novatians, an unnatural kind of accumulated excrescence and part, separated from the rest of the body," etc. "But the heretic rends, cuts, injures, crumples the Lord's garment, that is, the Church of Christ." *

Optatus, Bishop of Milevis (A.D. 370): "You, Parmenianus, have said that the Church is one, to the exclusion of heretics; but you have not chosen to acknowledge where that Church

* St. Pacian, ep. 3. Gallandi, vii. 262–4.

is. . . . It is for me to state which or where is that one Church, which is the Church, since besides that one there is none other. . . . You have said that with heretics the marks * of the Church cannot be; and you say truly, for we know that the churches of every one of the heretics are prostituted, are without any lawful sacraments, and without the rites of an honourable marriage; churches which Christ repudiates as unnecessary, He being the Spouse of one Church, as in the Canticle of Canticles Himself testifies; who in that He praises one condemns all others, because, besides the one which is the true Catholic (Church), the rest that are among heretics think themselves to be, though they exist not,† as He points out that one is His Dove, the same His chosen Spouse, the same the Garden enclosed and the Fountain sealed up; so that all heretics have neither the keys, which Peter alone received; nor the ring, with which the Fountain is said to be sealed up; nor is there any one of them to whom that Garden belongs wherein God plants His shoots. . . . In Africa too, as in the other provinces, there was but one Church, before it was divided by the ordainers of Majorinus, in whose chair you now sit as heir. We have to see who remained in the root with the whole world; ‡ who went out; who established another chair, which till then had no existence; who set up altar against altar; who gave ordination whilst the one already ordained was still living; who lies under the sentence of John the Apostle, who said that many Antichrists would go out, because they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have remained with us." §

Hilary, Bishop of Poictiers (A.D. 353–367): "But since the Body of the Church is one, not by a kind of confused mixture of bodies, nor by each of them being gathered together into an indistinguishable heap and shapeless mass, but we are all one

* "Dotes;" her dowry as the Bride of Christ.

† "Cæteræ apud hæreticos putantur esse, sed non sunt."

‡ "Videndum est quis in radice cum toto orbe manserit."

§ St. Optatus de Schis. Donat. i. 6, 7, 10, 15.

(Body) through unity of faith,* through the society of charity, through concord of works and will, through the one gift of the sacrament in all, to which Paul exhorts us, saying, 'I beseech you, brethren, that you be all of one mind, exercising the same charity;' and when it shall be, as is written, 'the multitude of believers had but one heart and one soul,' then shall we be the City of God, then the holy Jerusalem, because Jerusalem is built as a city whose participation is of the self-same thing. But those who dissent from the assembly of the saints, and, urged on by their sins, separate themselves from the Body of the Church, have no participation in this holy house, because the participation of this city is of the self-same thing: for those who are of one mind through fellowship of a perfect city, cannot have participation in what is different, but in what is the same. All, therefore, who will be one (Body) will be in that (City), as the Psalm testifies, for it says, 'Thither did the tribes go up;" the tribes, not one, but many." †

St. Ambrose (A.D. 340–397) on the words, "Every kingdom divided against itself shall be laid waste": "The cause of this saying is, that He was said to cast out devils in Beelzebub, the chief of the devils, in order that He might show His own kingdom to be indivisible and perpetual. . . . For how, when the Faith is cleft in twain, can the kingdom remain undivided? . . . And therefore the kingdom of the Church shall remain for ever, because its faith is indivisible, its body one: for there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all and through all and in all. . . . Whence also understand, that all heretics and schismatics are separated from the kingdom of God and from the Church. And so it is perfectly clear that all meetings of schismatics and heretics are not of God but of the unclean spirit." And a little further on, upon the verse, "As Jonas

* "Quia unum Ecclesiæ corpus est, non quadam corporum confusione permixtum, neque singulis in indiscretum acervum et informem cumulum adunatis, sed per fidei unitatem."

† St. Hilar. in Ps. cxxi. p. 386.

was a sign to the Ninevites": "Here too, after condemning the people of the Jews, the mystery of the Church is evidently expressed, who is gathered together from the ends of the whole world in the Ninevites by penitence, and in the Queen of the South by zeal to obtain wisdom, in order that she may learn the words of the peaceful Solomon: truly a Queen whose kingdom is indivisible, rising up into one body out of diverse and distant peoples." And the subjects of this Queen he elsewhere calls "a people the instrument of the divine operation, in whom re-echoes the strain of the Divine Oracle, and within which the Spirit of God works, that temple the shrine of the Trinity, the home of sanctity, the holy Church." *

St. Jerome (A.D. 331–420), on Ephes. v. 31: "'The last Adam is become a vivifying Spirit;' and as from Adam and his wife the whole race of men is born, so from Christ and the Church the whole multitude of believers is generated; which, being made the one Body of the Church, is again placed in the side of Christ, and fills the place of a rib, and is made the one Body of the Man; the Lord Himself asking this in the Gospel, 'Father, grant that as I and Thou are one thing, so they also may be one thing in Us.'" And elsewhere: "Let one Eve be the mother of all the living, and one Church the parent of all Christians." And again: "I might spend the day in such argumentation, and drain utterly dry all the streamlets of their assertions, by the Sun alone of the Church." And "they then shall fall who have given themselves to an earthly dwelling, and whose tap-root is fixed in earthly works; and they shall not fall who have their seat in the whole world † and rest in the Church, which is the dwelling-place of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."‡

* St. Ambrose super Luc. vii. 91, 95, 96, tom. i. 1431, and Hexaemeron, 3, 1, tom. i. 34.

† "Qui sedent in orbe terrarum;" which reminds one of St. Augustine's "securus judicat orbis terrarum."

‡ St. Jerome, in Ephes. v. 31, tom. vii. 660; Ep. 123, ad Ageruchiam, tom. i. 902; adv. Luciferianos, 27, tom. ii. 201; in Esaiam xxvi. 18, tom. iv. 356.

Paulus Orosius (A.D. 414): "God, who is one, delivered one faith, spread one Church over the whole world: this He regards, this loves, this defends. Let a man hide himself under whatever name he pleases: if he be not associated with this Church, he is an alien; if he assail her, an enemy." "For we, under one Head, which is Christ, and under one Church, which is Christ, are all brethren, and one Body in Christ." *

Vincent of Lerins died about A.D. 445. "'If Thou be the Son of God, cast Thyself down.' Why so? 'For it is written,' saith he. We are diligently to weigh the doctrine of this place, and to keep it in mind, that by so notable an example of Gospel authority we may in no wise doubt, when we see any allege some place of the Apostles or Prophets against the Catholic Faith, but that by their mouth the devil himself doth speak. For as at that time the head spake unto the Head, so now the members speak unto the members; that is, the members of the devil unto the members of Christ, the faithless unto the faithful, the sacrilegious unto the religious, to conclude, heretics to Catholics. But what, finally, does he say? 'If Thou be the Son of God, cast Thyself down.' That is to say, Thou desirest to be the Son of God, and to enjoy the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven; 'cast Thyself down,' that is, from the doctrine and tradition of that high and lofty Church which is reputed to be even the temple of God. And should one ask any one of these heretics, when he would so persuade them, How do you prove and convince me that I ought to forsake the universal and ancient faith of the Catholic Church, he replies at once, 'It is written.' . . . And forthwith he will allege you a thousand testimonies, a thousand examples, a thousand authorities, out of the Law, out of the Psalms, out of the Apostles, out of the Prophets, by which, expounded after a new and evil fashion, he would cast headlong the unhappy soul from the tower of the Catholic Church into the abyss and prison-house of heresy." †

* Paulus Orosius, Hist. vii. 33; Gallandi, ix. 150; and De Arbitrii Libertate, 31; ib. tom. ix. 168.

† Contr. Hæres. 36.

St. Augustine (A.D. 354–430): "But since the Body of Christ is both Temple and House and City, so He who is the Head of the Body is likewise the Indweller of the House, and the Sanctifier of the Temple, and the King of the City. As the Church is all these things, so Christ is all those." And again: "Moreover, men once born are transferred not by works of justice which they have done, but by being born again through grace into the framework of the Body of Christ, as into the living structure of the Temple of God, which is His Church; and this, as it were, from a mass of ruin into the compactness of a building. For beside this building which is being constructed unto beatification for the eternal dwelling-place of God, the life of every man is unhappy, and rather to be termed death than life. Whoever, then, will be dwelt in by God, that the wrath of God may not remain upon him, will not be an alien from this Body, from this Temple, from this City." *

St. Leo the Great, Pope (A.D. 440–461): "It is beyond question that human nature has been taken into such a connection by the Son of God, that not only in that Man who is the Firstborn of all creation, but likewise in all His Saints, there is one and the same Christ; and as the Head cannot be divided from the limbs, so neither the limbs from the Head. For though it belong not to this life, but to that of eternity, that God be all in all, yet even now He is the undivided inhabitant of His Temple, which is the Church, as He Himself promised: 'Behold, I am with you all days, even unto the consummation of the world;' and as the Apostle says in harmony with Him, 'He is the Head of the Body, the Church." †

Let us first take particular expressions of the Fathers in the extracts quoted above, and then give a general summary of them.

Thus Clement, the disciple of St. Peter and St. Paul,

* St. Augustine, in Ps. cxxxi. tom. iv. 1473 b; Epist. 187, 33, tom. ii. 689 d.
† St. Leo, Serm. 12, in Pass. 3.

enforces the words of the latter: "Why do we raise a sedition against our own body," that body being the Body of Christ, because "there is one God and one Christ, and one Spirit of grace poured out upon us"? So St. Hermas sees the Church militant in a tower built upon Christ's rock, so evenly jointed together that it seemed to be wrought out of one stone, for which especially its Builder rejoiced over it. And Irenæus, who almost touches St. John through his teacher Polycarp, says, that as the natural light is sphered in the sun, so the light of divine truth in the Church; that the Church is the store-house of truth; that where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God; and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church and all grace; but the Spirit is truth; that the Church is the seven-branched candlestick, bearing Christ's light; that as the sun revolves in its orbit, so there is one tradition of the truth, which the Church presents to the world. Thus richly does Irenæus unfold the thought of Ignatius of Antioch, the contemporary of Apostles, "where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church;" and that as Christ is the mind (γνώμη) of the Father, so the Bishops throughout the world are the mind of Christ; and "haste together then all as *to the Temple of God*, as to one altar, as to one Jesus Christ;" and "as many as come to the unity of the Church, these also shall be of God." And that other thought of another disciple of Apostles:* "This is He who is from the beginning, who appeared as one new, who was found (in time), and is ever being freshly born in the hearts of saints, *through whom the Church receives her treasure, and grace expanding is multiplied in the saints: so that the grace of the Church exults*, which grace not grieving, you will learn what the Word utters."

Human languages are different, says the same Irenæus, but everywhere throughout the earth, as in one house of faith, "the power of the tradition is one and the same;" and Tertullian echoes from Africa, "No other principle rules these rights than the one tradition of the same sacrament;" and

* The author of the letter to Diognetus.

Cyprian takes up his master's words: "This sacrament of unity, this bond of concord, inseparably cohering together, is shown in the robe of our Lord, possessed unbroken and undivided;" whence Augustine and Leo carry it on, and describe "the firm framework of our unity;" and so all of them express that great tower of St Hermas, rising from the rock, as built of one stone. "The Church," says Clement from Alexandria, "is one alone in her foundation, in her idea, in her origin, in her excellence: she is one because the Godhead is one;" and St. Cyprian replies, "One because the Godhead is one, and because the Holy Trinity is one." "She is," says Origen, "the Body of Christ, animated by the Son of God, as the soul quickens and moves the human body." "She is the fortified, impregnable city," repeats Eusebius of Cæsarea, Hilary, Theodoret, Augustine, from Palestine, Gaul, the far East and Africa, because Christ is her founder and inhabitant; which Alexander, of Alexandria, expresses in almost the same form: "She is for ever indestructible, though the whole world should choose to war with her, and bears away the victory over every most impious insurrection of heretics, because the *Master of the House* is the ground of her confidence;" that is, being "the House of God" (1 Tim. iv. 15), the Master of the House is always in her. "She is," says Athanasius, "the manhood of Christ, in Him having domination and royal power after His crucifixion, and anointed to be His kingdom." Irenæus, Athanasius, and Jerome, all call her the Sun; Irenæus, as moving in one orbit unswervingly, enlightening all the earth; Athanasius, as the faithful witness in heaven, lasting for ever; Jerome, as drying up all the streamlets of error with her single light and heat. No image can more strongly than this represent her unity, universality, and perpetuity; and again her prerogative to be the fountain of grace and truth, as God's creature, in whom is the Word made Flesh. "She is," says Gregory of Nazianzum, "the great inheritance of Christ;" thus using Augustine's favourite expression against the Donatists; and he adds, "the fruitful-

ness of the Tree that fills the world," which is St. Augustine's Vine; and St. Cyril of Jerusalem specially notes that, "while the kings of the different nations have territorial limits to their power, the Holy Catholic Church alone has a power thoughout the whole world which has no territorial limit."

Now, passing from single expressions of particular Fathers, let us see what they all agree in. It may be thus summed up. As there is one only Christ, so there is one only Church; as the Church is one, because Christ is one, so it is one Body, because He has taken a Body: it is therefore the work of His Incarnation, and to dissolve this Body is to dissolve Christ; for as Christ cannot be divided, so neither the Church; the Church, as His Body, is the receptacle of His truth and grace. As the Holy Spirit dwelt in Christ upon earth, so He dwells in the permanent order of the Church's ministry, the perpetual existence of which, in the unity of His Body, is the safeguard against error. Through this ministry, as the joints and ligaments of this one Body, the life of Christ descends from the Head to the members, and Christ's life is Truth and Grace. Thus the Holy Ghost dwells in the Church permanently, as in a home, as in a shrine, as in the Body of Christ, as the marriage-ring with which she is espoused as His Bride: but the same Spirit dwells in particular men only as members of the Body, and so long as they continue to be members of it; as dwellers in the House, and so long as they continue to dwell in it; as worshippers in the Shrine, and so long as they continue to worship in it. By virtue of this union with Christ, as of the Body with the Head, the Church possesses the great function of receiving, teaching, unfolding, and preserving the Truth, and of communicating the Grace by which the Truth is held; and the mode of this union is the indwelling of the Holy Ghost in her, as the Spirit of the Head. Thus, belief in our Lord and His Incarnation is blent and fused throughout with belief in the unity, truth, grace, stability of the Church: the Head and the Body stand together.

Such is the way in which the whole mass of ancient

writers, from the beginning of Christianity down to the time of St. Augustine and the Council of Chalcedon, concur in the doctrine which he urged and applied against the great Donatist schism in his native country, and which I have exhibited above in the two expressions, "This is She who alone holds and possesses all the power of her Bridegroom and her Lord;" and "whatever belonging to the Church is possessed, avails not to salvation outside the Church." It would be easy to multiply to any extent these expressions. If there be any one doctrine in the whole range of Christian doctrines to which the Vincentian canon, "quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus," may be applied with the utmost rigour, it is this. I stop at the Council of Chalcedon simply because one must stop somewhere, and also because Dr. Pusey appeals to the "undivided" Church; and I challenge him to produce a single writer out of that Church who admits that the Church can cease to be one, universal, and perpetual, holding for ever the Truth and the Grace of her Lord, that is, continuing to be one Body, as well as one Spirit. Heretics in abundance he will find asserting this, looking for the truth elsewhere, in reason, or in their private interpretation of Scripture, or in the learning or knowledge of particular persons: but not one writer whom he himself will accept as Catholic.

Now, if this is so, I ask, Is it not in the highest degree unpatristic to reject this doctrine? Is it not to read the Fathers as the Jews read the Scriptures, with a veil upon the heart, and as they abhor the suffering Christ, so not to recognize the indivisible Christ? What inconsistency can be greater than to appeal to the "undivided" Church, and to deny that one doctrine which formed its life and strength, to which its testimonies are most exuberant, in which its faith is full and overflowing; nay, which is the basis of its belief in all other doctrines? All these men whom Dr. Pusey loves, saw the victory of Christ over the heathen world precisely in this, that out of all the nations of the earth, sunk in idolatry and misbelief, He had gathered in

organic unity and filled with His Spirit one Church. This to them was the proof of His power; this the mark of His Godhead. What the Fathers all say is: As there is one only Christ, so there is one only Church. Will it be long before modern infidelity will say: If there is not any Church, neither is there any Christ? If the argument from the unity of the Lord's Body is conclusive, is not the argument from the dissolution of the Lord's Body conclusive also? And on which side will Dr. Pusey stand?

But let us consider the circumstances under which the Fathers bore witness to this indivisible unity of the Church.

Was there ever a time when she had not competitors, opponents, assailants, who attacked her in the very name of her Lord? Even in the time of the Apostles she began to be surrounded with a swarm of heresies: St. John and St. Paul speak of these as already in existence; while the parable of the wheat and the cockle prophesies them as to be, and to be unto the end. With the growth of the Church corresponded the multitude of heresies. Epiphanius, in the course of 300 years, numbers eighty of them. All these claimed to be Christian; all claimed to hold the pure doctrine of Christ, and to understand the Scriptures better than the Church. In the midst of all these, and because of them, the Fathers hold their decisive doctrine that the Church is the one Body of Christ, the one Temple of God, in which the Holy Spirit dwells. The very mark of the Church is that she is the "Lily among thorns;" so St. Augustine says: "Not all heretics are over the whole face of the earth, but yet there are heretics over the whole face of the earth: some here, some there, but no place without them. They do not even know each other. There is one sect in Africa; another heresy in the East; another in Egypt; another in Mesopotamia. There are different heresies in different places, but one mother, Pride, bore them all, as our one mother, the Catholic Church, bears all faithful Christians spread through the whole world. Wonder not, then, if pride engender separation,

as charity bears unity. Yet the Catholic Mother, the Shepherd Himself, who is in her, everywhere seeks out the wandering, strengthens the weak, heals the sick, binds up the broken, these from one quarter, those from another, who do not know each other. She, however, knows them all, because she is spread among them all. For instance, there is the party of Donatus in Africa, but not the Eunomians; the Catholic Church, however, is here, with the party of Donatus. In the East there are Eunomians, but no Donatists; yet with the Eunomians there is the Catholic Church; she is there as the Vine spreading everywhere in her increase; they are there, like useless vine-branches, cut off by the husbandman's pruning-knife for their barrenness, which looked to be thought the Vine, but not for the pruning. . . . Those branches, then, lie where they were cut off; but the Vine, increasing everywhere, knows both the branches which have remained in her, and those which were cut off, lying by her." *

Had not these heresies a good deal to say for themselves in their day? First of all was their appeal to the Bible. Vincent of Lerins tells us: "Haply some man may demand whether heretics also use the testimony of Holy Scripture. Assuredly they do, and that very earnestly, for a man may behold them ranging in every part of the sacred volume, in Moses, in the Kings, in the Psalms, in the Apostles, in the Gospels, in the Prophets; for whether amongst their own brethren or with strangers, whether in private or in public, whether in talking or in writing, whether in convivial meetings or abroad in the streets, they scarcely ever allege anything of their own which they do not pretend to draw out by words of Sacred Scripture. Read the tracts of Paul of Samosata, of Priscillian, Eunomius, Jovinian, and the rest of such-like pests, and you shall find through all their works a huge heap of examples, scarce a page omitted which is not coloured and painted with the sayings of the New or the Old Testament." †

* St. Aug. Serm. 46, tom. v. 234. † Contra Hæres. 25.

Nor did they only claim to have Scripture on their side, as St. Augustine tells us in another place. Speaking on that verse in the Proverbs, "Many daughters have gathered together riches; thou hast surpassed them all," he says: "Who are those other daughters? There are bad daughters, which are heresies. Why daughters? Because they also were born of that one. But bad daughters, daughters not in likeness of conduct, but in likeness of sacraments; for these too have our sacraments, have our Scriptures, have our amen and alleluia: most of them have our creed, many have our baptism; therefore are they daughters. But would you like to hear what is said elsewhere to this woman in the Canticle of Canticles? 'As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters.' It is strange: he calls the same thorns and daughters. And do those thorns work power? Certainly. Do you not see how heresies likewise pray, fast, give alms, praise Christ? I can say that they have false prophets, of whom it was said, 'They do many signs and wonders, to deceive, if possible, even the elect. So I have told you beforehand.' The thorns also work power, of which it is said, 'Have we not in Thy name eaten and drunken, and in Thy name wrought many miracles?' We have eaten and drunken he would not say of common food, you know of what food and drink he might say it. And we have done many miracles: many daughters work power; we deny it not: thorns too have the flower, but not the fruit," * that is, as he goes on to explain, the fruit of charity, which he recognizes only in unity.

But in spite of all these pretensions—all these goods of the Church possessed by those outside of the Church—he says in another place: "There are some, of those who are called Christians, and are not Christians, whom the Church has half digested, like excrement, as are all heresies and all schisms, which are likewise compared to fruitless branches cut off from the Vine, and to straw carried off by the wind from the threshing-floor before winnowing." †

* St. Aug. Serm. 37, tom. v. 192 b. † Serm. 5, tom. v. 28 c.

Now, though there had been a crop of schisms and heresies from the beginning, though not only laymen, but individual Priests and Bishops had fallen into heresy, yet the occasion on which St. Augustine applied the universal doctrine of unity to the Donatists was the first on which a large mass, very like a National Church in bulk and peculiar feelings, had broken off from the Church, with its full organization of Bishops, Priests, and laity.* Did their numbers, or their cohesion, or their having subsisted for three generations, or their possessing a complete hierarchy, an unquestioned succession, an identical Faith with that of the Catholic Church, save the single point which, as he said above, by their evil perseverance they made into a heresy, modify in any respect the language of St. Augustine towards them? We have seen that the contrary to this was the fact. He compared their sacraments to the King's standards borne in insurrection against the King, which only made the guilt of the insurgents the heavier. Scarcely was St. Augustine dead when another great heresy, headed by an Archbishop of Constantinople—the Nestorian—carried a multitude of Bishops and of people out of the Church; and twenty years later a third, headed this time by an Archbishop of Alexandria, was so disastrous as to sever the greater part of the people of Egypt, with their Bishops, from the unity of the one Body. St. Cyril, the great Doctor of the Incarnation, had been but a few years in his grave when the mass of his people, claiming to represent his own doctrine, bearing as their standard his very formula, "One Nature Incarnate of God the Word"†—fell away.

We have here, then, three great communities—the Donatist, the Nestorian, the Monophysite—departing from the Church, and carrying with them, each of the three, the complete doctrine and discipline of the Church, save in the one point which formed their heresy; carrying with them, too, a complete hierarchy. One of these, the Nestorian, so

* The Arian heresy, which occurred at the same time, was rather a struggle for mastery within the Church, when heresy put forth the utmost power which it has ever exerted, until it was at last cast out.

† *μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη.*

flourished in numbers and extent, "that, in the time of the Caliphs, it was at the head of as many as twenty-five Archbishops; its communion extended from China to Jerusalem."* Another, the Monophysite, continued to hold the majority in Egypt down to the time of the Mohammedan invasion, and long afterwards. The numbers of these two communions at one time "are said to have surpassed those of the Greek and Latin Churches together." †

Yet all these three, being cut off from the one Church—the Donatist as we have seen; the Nestorians by the third Council, that of Ephesus; the Eutychians by the fourth, that of Chalcedon—were no longer allowed by any Father to possess the sanctifying grace of the Holy Ghost: they had gone out of the Temple in which He dwelt, and left the House where alone was the presence of the Master of the House. Dr. Pusey entirely gives them up; he has no pity on them; for the Donatists are extinct, the Nestorians have dwindled to a miserable flock wandering in the mountains of Kurdistan, and a remnant of the Eutychians lingers on in the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria; whereas Dr. Pusey prefers his Greek antagonist. But were these three communities existing now in their original bulk and vigour, as when they left the Church, or as they existed long afterwards, and were Dr. Pusey's affections, his habits, and all the interests of his life centred in one of them, then should we have glowing language, describing the Catholic Church on the one hand, and the Donatists, the Nestorians, and the Monophysites, on the other, as "like the river which 'went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.' They come from the fountain of blessedness; they flow down to the ocean of the eternal love of God; they water the parched land; they cool and refresh the weary and the thirsty in the places which God has appointed for them, with the one stream coming down from Him." Doubtless God appointed Africa for the Donatists, and Egypt for the

* Newman on Development, p. 292. † Ibid.

Monophysites, and Asia for the Nestorians, as He appointed England for the Anglicans; and I am sure those communities were far nearer to the Catholic Church of their day than the community for which Dr. Pusey pleads, *taken as a whole*—in which way Dr. Pusey never chooses to take it—is to either the Greek communion or the Catholic Church; all which three he supposes to form together, "before the throne of God, one Holy Catholic Apostolic Church," while on earth they neither hold the same faith, nor have communion with each other; and therefore are neither one Body nor one Spirit.

And here one cannot but notice an assumption which runs all through Dr. Pusey's book, being one of those many instances in which he refuses to look in the face such facts of history as are disagreeable to him; as, for instance, on the one hand, the civil supremacy which rules his own community, or, on the other hand, the immense body of proof which supports the Principate of the Apostolic Chair, ruling by divine institution the Catholic Church. The complete and accurate consideration of these two supremacies, which determine, in fact, the position of his community as a whole, he shirks. They have been brought before him again and again: but he merely closes his eyes. In the same way, then, with determined blindness to all the parties which internally distract his community (the only connection of which with each other lies in that civil supremacy which he ignores), he takes up, from the beginning to the end of his book, a position which is ridiculous to those who know the real condition of that community; for, with his singular views, he, being *frustum de frusto*, assumes to represent the whole *frustum*, self-commissioned as he is in this very representation, while he is really speaking at the utmost for one-tenth part * of a dissolving heresy, which in its single bosom contains more contradictions than Donatists, Nestorians, and Monophysites put together, and is in truth the self-acknowledged, often the proudly vindicated, domain of individual self-will

* So estimated lately by the *Spectator*.

and individual opinion, and represents the theological varieties of the English mind, as the daily press its political parties; and so is called the National Church, as embracing the multitudinous heresies of the nation, and giving to each their respective influence, while it links them all together in a civil unity.

And thus, again, a particular interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles, which was presented some twenty-five years ago (*i.e.* 1841) by its author only as one of several allowable varieties, yet even so was rejected by the vast majority of Bishops, clergy, and people as not within the range of permission, Dr. Pusey now borrows from that author, disowning it, and produces as the proper interpretation of the whole community; and by the aid of this subterfuge, as if it was a true picture of the life of this community during the three hundred years of its existence, confers "a truth and office" upon what he calls the English Church, being his conception not of what it is, or even of what it ever was, but of what it ought to be. This conception, then, of something which should be, but is not, and has never been, is presented by him on one side over against a caricature of the Catholic Church on the other; and this insult to truth, on the one side and on the other, he terms an *Eirenicon*, while it is constructed as a scarecrow to frighten troubled consciences from seeking their true home; and in it devotions sanctioned by himself for private practice are mentioned as derogatory to the honour of our Lord when used by Catholics. I can only apply to the whole proceeding the words of an ancient Father, believing assuredly, as St. Irenæus did, that "Christ will judge those who work schisms, being devoid of the charity of God, and seeking their own private advantage, but not the unity of the Church, and who for little and self-exalting reasons cut and divide, and, so far as in them lies, destroy the great and glorious Body of Christ; those who speak peace and work war, truly straining out the gnat and swallowing down the camel. For no such reformation can possibly take place by them as can equal the injury of schism." *

* St. Irenæus, iv. 33, 7. Ἀνακρινεῖ δὲ τοὺς τὰ σχίσματα ἐργαζομένους, κενοὺς

But principles, after all, are not touched by time; a thousand years leave them as sure as they were at the beginning: they yield not even to that most fearful of all powers in resistance to the truth, which St. Augustine saw in the Donatists,—that "obstinate inveterateness of an obdurate habit." If Dr. Pusey is real and true in professing obedience to an "undivided" Church, if he is not merely exercising an act of private judgment, which he knows must be perpetual and beyond question, because no one can resuscitate his "undivided" Church and make it speak to him as a living authority; but if he really means to hold what the "undivided" Church held, let him then accept the first and most elementary of its doctrines, viz. that it is *indivisible*. This is the exact measure of the divergence between us and him: he allows that there once was an "undivided" Church; we believe an indivisible Church, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever; because it is the Body of that Lord who is *Id Ipsum*.

Now, the conclusion of all that I have said is this. We have an authority recognized by both in the great Council of Chalcedon. In that Council, and in all the four hundred years and more since the Ascension which preceded it, the indivisible unity of the Church, its perpetual existence as one Body and one Spirit, was a universal belief, and the foundation of all other belief. And this belief had been expressed and consecrated by our Lord when He called Himself the Vine, and His disciples the Vine-branches. The expression became forthwith of perpetual usage among the Christian people. Thus St. Justin said, "The Vine planted by God and the Saviour is His people." Tertullian spoke of the Vine-layer of the faith carried upon one root throughout the

ὄντας τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγάπης, καὶ τὸ ἴδιον λυσιτελες σκοποῦντας, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν ἕνωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας· καὶ διὰ μικρὰς καὶ τὰς ὑψώσας αἰτίας τὸ μέγα καὶ ἔνδοξον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ τέμνοντας, καὶ διαιροῦντας, καὶ ὅσον τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀναιροῦντας· τοὺς εἰρήνην λαλοῦντας καὶ πόλεμον ἐργαζομένους, ἀληθῶς διϋλίζοντας τὸν κώνωπα, τὸν δὲ κάμηλον καταπίνοντας· οὐδεμία δὲ τηλικαύτη δίναται πρὸς αὐτῶν κατόρθωσις γενέσθαι, ἡλίκη τοῦ σχίσματός ἐστιν ἡ βλάβη.

world; St. Cyprian, of the Tree which has many branches extending over the earth, but "one strength founded on the root holding it together;" St. Gregory of Nazianzum, "of the Tree whose fruit filled the world;" Pacian, "of the fruitful Vine on the sides of the House of the Lord;" Chrysostom, "I have planted thee in myself; therefore He saith, I am the root; you are the branches;" Augustine, "of that Vine which grew and filled all lands," and of which all heresies and schisms were the fruitless lopped-off branches. So the great Council used this same expression, and spoke of the Guardianship of the Vine. But to whom did it attribute this Guardianship? To the successor of St. Peter, and that as a trust imposed on him by our Lord Himself. The great Council which held the indivisible unity of the Body, the "sacramentum unitatis," saw in the Pope's office the Guardian and maintainer of that sacramentum unitatis. Just as the Church is one and indivisible, and as such the depository of Truth and Grace, which all these Fathers and this Council believed, so the means by which she is one and indivisible is the essential office of the Holy Father in the Church, the Guardianship of the Vine. In proportion to the growth of the Vine, in proportion to that prodigious power and fecundity with which its branches have interlaced human society, in that same proportion the perpetual guardianship of it extends. Here, to quote Vincent of Lerins, is an increase, but not a change: "Since this is the nature of an increase, that in themselves severally things grow greater, but of a change that something be turned from one thing which it was to another which it was not." * But in

* Sec. 23, Oxford Translation. Herein I conceive to lie the great beauty and utility of Father Newman's late pamphlet; for from the junction of the two titles of "Second Eve" and "Mother of God," which are beyond question apostolical, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is seen to be evolved; so that the affirmative to the Holy Father's question, "whether the doctrine be definable," is apparent; and the definition itself falls exactly under Vincent of Lerins' rule: "Si qua illa sunt, quæ ævi maturioris ætate pariuntur, jam seminis ratione proserta sunt, ut nihil novum postea proferatur in senibus, quod non in pueris jam antea latitaverat. . . . Hoc rectum ac consequens est, ut

its foundation, in its idea, in its origin, in its excellence, to apply Clement of Alexandria's words, this guardianship is the same: it is *essential*, as the unity for which it exists; the unity of faith and communion; the unity of the Body, through which it is the will of the mystical Head, God the Word made Flesh, that His spiritual influence should descend to every part of that Body. This Guardianship of the Vine the "undivided" Church saw and acknowledged and professed in the successor of St. Peter. Will Dr. Pusey see and acknowledge together the indivisibility of the Church and the Guardianship which makes it indivisible; or will he repudiate both? In the latter case let him cease to appeal to a Church the perpetual function of which he denies: but that which his own statement requires for its completeness and coherence is, that he should acknowledge at once the sacramentum unitatis and the bond which maintains it; that seeing, as he does, how "our highest union with one another is an organic union with one another through union with Christ" (p. 46), and how "such an organization is *essential* to the transmission of grace from Christ" (p. 55), he should also see how it follows from this very statement that even true sacraments cannot convey the grace of the Head outside of His Body; and so be led with the doctrine of the Vine itself to accept its necessary condition, the Guardianship of the Vine intrusted by the Saviour to Peter and his successors.

primis atque extremis sibimet non discrepantibus, de incrementis triticiæ institutionis tritici quoque dogmatis frugem demetamus: ut cum aliquid ex illis seminum primordiis accessu temporis evolvatur, et nunc lætetur, et excolatur, nihil tamen de germinis proprietate mutetur, addatur licet forma, species, distinctio, eadem tamen cujusque generis natura permaneat."—Sec. 23.

END OF VOL. I.

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